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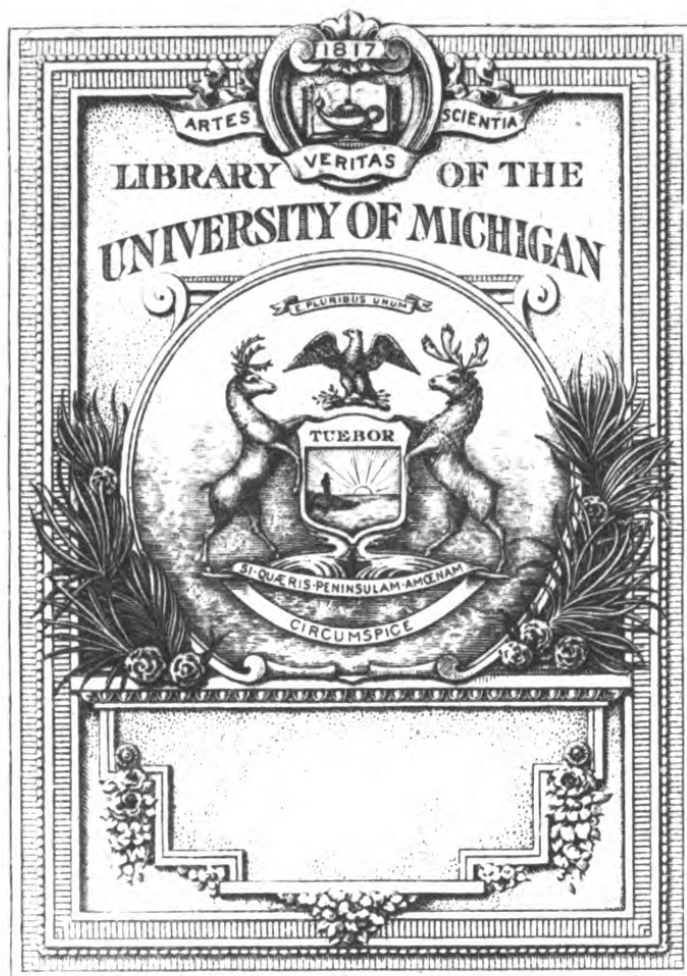
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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 50



NOTES ON THE ANCIENT COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR

BY
GEORGE F. HILL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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NOTES ON THE ANCIENT COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR

As this is probably the last piece of numismatic work to which I shall put my signature, a word in explanation of its incompleteness may perhaps be allowed. These notes were intended as a kind of preliminary survey of the field which was afterwards to be covered by a full-dress catalogue of the Ancient Coins of Spain. About two-fifths of the way through the work, I have been called to other duties. My manuscript, which includes a descriptive catalogue of the coins of all the mints dealt with in these notes, might have been left to my successor, who will eventually make the Catalogue of Spain, to incorporate with his own. But I have thought it better to leave him a free hand, by printing my own views, for what they are worth; he can then accept or reject them at his pleasure, and his book will have a unity which it would lack were it to be two-fifths mine, and three-fifths his. The descriptive catalogue will be at his service; the theories put forward in these notes will be his just so far as, and no farther than, he desires to accept them.

The paper *On the Coins of Narbonensis with Iberian inscriptions* (*Num. Notes and Monographs* No. 44) was written and printed before the change

in my plans was known; otherwise, I should have included it in the present Notes.

These notes are, I am well aware, rather incoherent, perhaps sometimes inconsistent, and doubtless would have been considerably altered and pulled together had I had time to cover the whole ground and work over it again.

It is necessary before proceeding any further to state what method of transliteration I adopt for the Iberian signs. Much yet remains uncertain, but a certain amount of progress has been made of recent years. I give (preceding the plates of coins) a table of the chief signs with which we shall be concerned (there are still more thorny problems in the part of the peninsula to which these notes do not extend), together with the equivalents used by Hübner (*Monumenta Linguae Ibericae*), Gómez-Moreno (*Sobre los Iberos y su Lengua*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, III, 1925, pp. 475-499) and myself. I do not propose to justify any variations of mine from other systems here, but may take occasion to do so in the course of the notes.

The Ibero-Roman coinage of Citerior has been fitted by Zobel ¹ into the following periods:

1. 226-214 B.C. Coinage in Saguntum (silver victoriati), Tarraco, Celsa, and perhaps Ilerda (bronze from the time of the expedition of P.

¹ *Mem. Num. Esp.*, V, pp. 1 ff.

Scipio in 217 onwards). The bronze is sextantal, the silver of the weight of the early victoriati.

2. 214–204 B.C. Extension of the coinage. Silver denarii and quinarii, the denarius later on reduced to 1/84 lb.; the bronze, beginning with rare sextantal issues, becomes uncial.

3. 204–154 B.C. Greatest extension of Ibero-Roman coinage. Catalonia, as also the rest of the cities of the littoral, ceases to strike silver, which is issued in great quantities in Aragón (especially at Osca), on the upper Ebro and in Segobriga and Acci, the capitals of Celtiberia and Bastetania. Towards the middle of the period Osca becomes the exclusive silver mint for all the province. The denarius is of reduced weight; no quinarii. Bronze is uncial.

4. 154–72 B.C. Money coined again for the Lusitano-Celtiberian war which ended with the fall of Numantia in 133; small issues in Aragón and the greater part of ancient Celtiberia; on the upper Ebro and in the district of the Arevaci and the Bastetani, affected by the war, the coinage degenerates in style and quality. The provincial reform of 133 doubtless stopped the official coinage of money with Iberian inscriptions, though it was revived for a time during the Sertorian war (80–72 B.C.) in some fortresses such as Celsa, Saetabis, Gili, Saguntum, Tanusia.

5. The latest coin with an Iberian legend is the ace of Osicerda with the reverse type of the

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elephant trampling on a serpent, copied from the denarius of Caesar.

Zobel's great experience compels us to regard this scheme with respect. Nevertheless, theories which neatly fit the stages of development of a coinage exactly into the periods of political history are so seldom borne out by an examination of the facts, that it has seemed better to attack the problem of dating from a purely numismatic standpoint, calling in the aid of historical data where they are helpful in supporting or correcting the conclusions independently reached from the coins themselves.

I now proceed to discuss the various coinages, following more or less the division into regions adopted by Hübner. Hübner's grouping, so far as I have tested it, seems to me to be sound on the whole. That of Vives appears to be arbitrary; his work is awkward to use for reference and un-indexed, it ignores the problems of the transliteration of Iberian and the identification of place-names, and, owing to the lack of final revision by the author, swarms with inaccuracies. I have accordingly used it merely as a collection of material, in which respect it is incomparable and indispensable. Thanks to the help of His Grace the Duke of Alba, I have been able to see and copy the majority of the casts used by Vives for his Plates; these casts, the property mainly of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, and

partly of the Junta de Ampliacion de Estudios, were at his suggestion sent over to London for study. Without this assistance, the material for what follows would have been so patchy that the task would hardly have been worth undertaking. It is greatly to be regretted that certain collections of great importance, of which Vives had only paper rubbings instead of casts, still remain inaccessible to the student.

I have to thank many other persons, curators of collections, and many private collectors, for their kindness in allowing me to have casts or photographs, from amongst which the illustrations to these Notes have been taken. The public collections are those of Athens (Mr. Constantopoulos), Berlin (Dr. Regling and Dr. Liegle), Béziers (M. Cambon), Cambridge (Mr. Grose), Copenhagen (Dr. Galster), Glasgow, Hunterian (Sir George Macdonald), Gotha (Dr. Pick), The Hague (M. Kerkwijk, who very kindly sent the whole of the coins of Spain over to London for study), Leningrad (Dr. Zograph), Mainz, Central-Museum (Dr. Behrens), Oslo (Dr. Holst), Paris (M. Dieudonné and M. Babelon), Stockholm (Mr. Appelgren), Vienna (Dr. Loehr and Dr. Pink). Of private owners I must mention gratefully M. Bourgey, who allowed me free access to the Vidal Quadras y Ramon Collection and supplied, as will be seen from the plates, many casts; Mr. Empedocles; Mr. Cyril Lockett; Sig. Johnson of

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Milan (through Sig. A. Anzani); Mr. Newell (who supplied photographs of the whole of his Iberian collection and innumerable casts); Mr. Seymour de Ricci and Mr. F. A. Walters.

Finally my thanks are due to the editors of the Numismatic Notes and Monographs for their courtesy in admitting this contribution to publication, and to my colleagues Mr. Mattingly and Mr. Robinson, whom I have constantly consulted, and of whom the latter has kindly read these proofs and made many useful suggestions.

In selecting coins for illustration I have preferred, as a rule, specimens which have not been or are not likely to be illustrated elsewhere, so far as this has been compatible with clearness of detail. But this has not always been possible, and I have had to fall back on coins illustrated by Vives, or those which will eventually appear in the British Museum Catalogue.

Following the suggestion of an American correspondent, Mr. Rickard, I have used the word "ace" to represent the Roman unit *as*. The word is good English, and avoids a frequently tiresome confusion.

REGIO EMPORITANA

RHODE

Rhode, the modern *Rosas*, (where, however, no traces of the old city have yet been discovered),

was founded, according to Pseudo-Scymnus (vv. 203 f.), first by Rhodians, later by Phocaeans from Massalia; according to Strabo (III, 4, 8; C. 160) by the Emporitans,¹ though the story that it was founded first by Rhodians, then by Massaliotes, is also known to him (XIV, 2, 10; C. 654). The story of the foundation by Rhodes may have no more basis than the likeness of names.

According to Strabo there was a cult of the Ephesian Artemis both at Rhode and at Emporiae; this cult, brought by the Phocaeans to Massalia, was established by the Massaliotes in all their colonies (IV, 1, 4; C. 179).

The coinage of Rhode begins in the first half of the fourth century. The head on the obverse of no. 1 (Pl. I) is clearly crowned with barley or rye;² it is therefore not a direct copy of the head on the Syracusan decadrachms, as Vives, for instance, supposes. If it is copied from anything, it is from the Siculo-Punic tetradrachms such as Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, III, C. 39. More probably, however, it is an independent development by the Rhodetan engraver in the same direction as the Siculo-Punic. The influence of the Massaliote drachms is visible. On the other hand, there is no trace of barley on Pl. I, no. 3,

¹ Meineke's text: *ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστι καὶ ἡ 'Ρόδη πολίχνιον, 'Εμποριτῶν κτίσμα, τινὲς δὲ 'Ροδίων φασι*. Stephanus Byz. wrongly gives the ethnic as *'Ροδαῖος*. Philippon's note (*Les Ibères*, 1909, pp. 172-3) is a tissue of absurdities.

² Cp. the fine Lorichs specimen, here Pl. I, 2.

which like most, if not all, other published drachms presumably derives more directly from the Arethusa of Euainetos. The style is less round, thinner than on no. 1. The form of the inscription, $\text{PO}\Delta\text{H}$, instead of the full ethnic, suggests that the artist meant the head for the personification of the city.

No. 1 has a monogram behind the head; the same monogram is legible on other specimens of somewhat varying style, so that it must not necessarily be assumed that it is an engraver's signature, or, if it is, that it was always put there by the artist himself.

The rose—four-petalled and conventional—seems to be seen from below, although on at least one drachm, and on the bronze coins (Pl. I, 4) ³ the sepals are only visible outside the area of the petals. The concavity of the design, combined with the inner arcs, which suggests at first that the artist was trying to represent the natural, upper view of the open flower combined with the under view, is perhaps merely an accident.

Among the barbarous imitations of the drachm which exist in very large quantities, only those have been considered here which represent the reverse type of the original in a more or less recognizable form. Even these are probably for the most part of Gaulish origin. The interesting coin at Stockholm, Pl. I, 2, shows however that we

³ Vives, Pl. I, 6 and 7.

must be careful how we speak of barbarous copies. No one would suspect that the obverse could be from the hand of any but a Greek engraver. Yet on the reverse the form of the rose has been completely misrepresented, and round the central boss appear four ornaments, three of them at least of the penannular torque pattern and typically Celtic. Drachms on which the rose has become a wheel or a star, or broken up into a cruciform pattern, are not here included.⁴ It is impossible to say where local imitations (if there are any) end and more properly Gaulish ones begin. In the gold imitation published by Vives (his Pl. I, 8), which as he says is Gaulish, the rose has disappeared, but the sepals remain in the form of a cross accompanied by four stars.

It is doubtful whether much is to be made of the inscriptions on the imitations. One (Pl. I, 6), is clearly however a broken down copy of the Emporitan legend. Schuchardt attempts (*Iber. Dekl.*, p. 39) to read *rotn* in the inscription on one coin (Pujol, *epigr.* 55; a good specimen at Paris, Pl. I, 5), taking it to be the genitive of the non-Iberian name Rhode. I prefer to see in it a corruption of the Greek inscription ΠΟΔΗ, occurring as it does in just the same place on the coin as that name (cp. Pl. I, 3).

The standard. The maximum weight reached

⁴ On these imitations generally, see H. de la Tour, *Atlas*, Pl. VIII; Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies gauloises*, p. 279.

by any original of Rhode is 5.13 gm. (Brera, no. 20); that of the imitations is 5.50 (Berlin); there is also a semi-barbarous drachm of 5.20 in the Ashmolean (Godwyn Coll.). The peak of the frequency, whether only originals are taken or the barbarous imitations included, is at 4.80 to 4.75; 21 out of some 33 specimens range between the 4.70 and 4.90 lines. The numbers are however too few for a thoroughly satisfactory inference to be drawn.⁵

EMPORIAE

The modern Ampurias,⁶ near the mouth of the

⁵ But at any rate it is clear that the statement of P. Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, 1904, II, p. 286, that Rhode struck only coins of Attic weight, has, like the majority of his observations about the coinage, no relation to the facts of the case.

⁶ J. Botet y Siso, *Noticia hist. y arqueol. de la ant. ciudad de Emporion*, 1879. Hübner in *Jahrb.*, xiii, 1898, pp. 120 ff. and in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, v, 1905, 2527 ff. (with full citations of most of the ancient authorities). A. Schulten, *Ampurias* in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Altertum*, x, 1907, pp. 324-46. J. Puig y Cadafalch and others in *Anuari* of the Institut de Estudis Catalans, 1906-1912. A. Frickenhaus, *ibid.*, 1908, pp. 195-240 (on the pottery). P. Paris, *Promenades arch. en Esp.*, ii, 1921, pp. 75-122 (bibliography to date). R. Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, VI), 1925, pp. 97 ff. Schulten in *Hermes*, lx, 1925, pp. 66-73. For the coinage, besides the general works on Spanish coins, see Pujol y Camps in *Mem. Num. Esp.*, iii, 1873, pp. 1-46, 65-95, 121-189; Botet y Siso, as above.

Fluvia (the ancient Clodianus) was founded by the Massaliotes some time in the second half of the sixth century, as appears from the pottery found on the site.

According to Posidonius the first colonists settled on an island ⁷ (supposed to be Cape San Martin, now joined to the mainland); afterwards they established themselves on the mainland, in one part of a city which was divided by a wall, the space on the other side being occupied by native Indiketæ; ⁸ the two communities eventually coalesced. The Greeks called the place Ἐμπόριον; the native city was known to them as Ἰνδική. To this double origin, and to the addition of the later Roman settlement, was due the plural form *Emporiae* by which the place is generally known. A form *Emporia* is also attested by some of the coins of Roman date.

Like Rhode, Emporion derived a cult of the "Ephesian" Artemis from Massalia. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the female head on one group of silver drachms is assimilated to the Greek Artemis; the dolphin behind her neck has become a bow and quiver (Pl. I, 19).

⁷ The dolphins surrounding the head of the nymph on the Emporitan drachms may be an echo of this origin, but more likely they are borrowed from the Syracusan original of the type.

⁸ For the form of this name cf. Ἰνδικητῶν τινες Strabo; Ἐνδιγετῶν παράλιος or πόλεις Ptolemy; Ἰνδική, πόλις Ἰβηρίας πλησίον Πυρήνης. τινὲς δὲ Βλαβέρουραν αὐτὴν φασιν. τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἰνδικίται ἢ Ἰνδικῆται Steph. Byz.

Emporiae was the key to Northern Spain; it was thence that the Romans launched their campaigns for the conquest of the country in 218, 211 and 195 B.C. Roman colonists, according to Livy, were settled there by Caesar after the defeat of Pompey's sons at Munda in 45 B.C.; when Livy wrote, all the inhabitants had obtained the Roman citizenship. Pliny (*N.H.*, III, 23) has: *oppida civium Romanorum Baetulo, Iluro, flumen Arnum, Blandae, flumen Alba, Emporiae, geminum hoc veterum incolarum et Graecorum qui Phocaeensium fuere soboles*. He mentions no colony, and it never was one in the technical sense. Livy's statement merely means that veterans were settled there. The coins shew that it became a *municipium*.⁹

The earliest currency attributable to Emporion consists of small silver coins with types imitated from a number of sources. They are none of them earlier than the fourth century.¹⁰ It is of course possible that some of the uninscribed small silver found in Spain (as in the hoards of

⁹ There is perhaps no need to assume a double community, a veteran colony of the usual type and a *municipium* arising out of the resident Roman civilians, such as may have existed at Hispalis (J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 232).

¹⁰ It is true that they are found associated with fifth century Greek coins, as in the Mongo (near Denia) hoard (*El Archivo*, Valencia, v, 1891, pp. 58 f.); but these must have taken some time to reach the place of their deposit.

Rosas, Pont de Molins, Morella, etc.)¹¹ were made at Emporion, and some of these may be earlier than the coins inscribed EM. But considering how imitative the small coins inscribed EM are, it is not certain that uninscribed coins with similar types were necessarily made at Emporion.

In this study those coins are recognized which bear the initials of the city or have similar types to others so inscribed. Of the coins inscribed with the first two or three letters of the name, the types are derived mainly from Sicily or South Italy, but also from farther afield. Vives exaggerates the debt to Italy. Phistelia certainly did not provide the original of the facing head on Pl. I, 10, but Syracuse; nor Velia the owl between two pendent laurel-sprays on Pl. I, 16, but Athens, to which is also due the Athena head of the obverse. The origin of the goat on Pl. I, 7, 8, unless it is a native invention, can only be sought in Aenus. The three birds of Vives, Pl. II, 23, can hardly be derived from the two crows of Laus, which only occur on bronze coins of that mint, nor the single bird from Sybaris.

Besides the types of these small coins represented on our Pl. I, 7-16, the following are given by Delgado and Vives:¹²

¹¹ Delgado, Pl. CXXIV, CXXV; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 109 ff.; Botet, pp. XXXV ff.; Kolb in *Rev. Num.*, 1923, p. 4 ff.

¹² Botet, *Mon. Cat.*, p. xli, no. ix, wrongly includes in this series the small denomination of the Pegasus drachm.

Female head facing. *R.* Bull charging. Vives, Pl. II, 8.

Head of Athena. *R.* Man-headed bull, head facing. Delg., Pl. CXXV, 51. Vives, Pl. II, 18.

Female head. *R.* Bird standing r. Delg., Pl. CXXV, 43. Vives, Pl. II, 22.

Lion's mask. *R.* Three birds. Delg., Pl. CXXV, 44. Vives, Pl. II, 23.

Bull's head facing. *R.* Beardless head r. Delg., Pl. CXXV, 42.

The weights of these small coins, in good specimens, have been supposed to approximate to the Massaliote obol and diobol of 0.55 and 1.10 grm.;¹³ or to be obols, hemiobols and tartemoria of 0.80, 0.40 and 0.20 grm., representing a drachm of 4.50 grm.¹⁴ But the weights are so irregular that it is difficult to discover to what system they belong. The recorded weights of such of these small coins as may certainly be ascribed to Emporion are grouped mainly about 0.90 grm., and the normal weight may be taken at slightly over that figure. There are no inscribed smaller denominations (for those with the Pegasos belong to the period of the drachms), and the attribution of the hemiobols, etc., to Emporion is therefore uncertain.

¹³ Mommsen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XXXV, 1863, p. 6.

¹⁴ Vives, i, p. 10. He is doubtless influenced by his assumption that the later Emporitan drachm was about 4.50 grm.; as we shall see, his weight is too low.

These small denominations were followed, probably at the end of the fourth or early in the third century, by a large coinage of drachms (Pl. I, 17) of the well-known Pegasus type. These coins have by previous writers been dated later than it appears they should be; Zobel, *e.g.*, places their first issue after about 240 B.C. The style of the better examples, and the early form of Γ instead of Π ,¹⁵ points rather to the first half of the third century. It is to be observed that none of these Greek coins with the ordinary Pegasus type occurred in the great hoard of Segarò to be mentioned later. They were accordingly separated by an interval from the Pegasi of the 'Chrysaor' type (see below).

These early Pegasi bear the name of the Greek community in full (EM Γ OPITΩN). In style the best of them are inferior to those of Rhode, and doubtless later in origin; the style rapidly becomes degraded, and is sometimes so bad that it is difficult to distinguish native imitations from products of the Emporitan mint. An interesting series (generally called the Chrysaor series), which is later in date than the other, and like it becomes much degraded and copied, shows in place of the head of Pegasus a small crouching figure, with hands and legs extended (Pl. I, 18). This has been described as a small Eros, but the

¹⁵ On Greek coins, the occurrence of Γ after about 200, or of Π before about 250 B.C., is exceptional.

apparent wing is probably only the remains of the horse's ear. Sometimes the little figure seems to wear a cap. Kabeiros and Chrysaor have also been suggested. The head on the obverse, surrounded by dolphins, is sometimes assimilated to Artemis (see Pl. I, 19).¹⁶

To the third century (and not very late in it), it would seem, must also be assigned the curious coin (Pl. I, 20), on the reverse of which is a rider—perhaps suggested by a Tarentine horseman—with what looks like a wing growing out of his shoulder; it may be merely his cloak, though its treatment recalls the tip of the wing of a Pegasus. The remains of the inscription in the exergue perhaps represent IMΓ retrograde (for this form compare IMΓPITI on a Pegasus illustrated by Delgado, Pl. CXXVIII, 94). The unique silver drachm in the Berlin Museum (Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 20, note 2; Pujol *epigr.*, n. 194; Hübner, 15 h, here Pl. I, 21) certainly appears to me to be of Gaulish origin, with a misunderstood inscription. Out of the two dolphins in front of the head on the original Emporitan drachm the Celt has made a lion tearing the head off a prostrate human figure;

¹⁶ For remains of a hellenistic statue of Artemis found at Ampurias, now in the Barcelona Museum, see *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 1909–10, any III, p. 288; 1911–12, any IV, pp. 464 f.; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV. For a discussion of both obverse and reverse types, Pujol y Camps in *Mem. Num. Esp.*, iii, 1873, pp. 28–38.

out of the wing of the Pegasus he has developed a complete new bird. The inscription which, Hübner says, *non potest non Iberica esse*, seems to me to be ΠPI retrograde, and may be derived from IMΠPITI (see above, p. 16).

In the Pegasus drachms with symbols (e.g., Vives, Pl. III, 17-21 and Pl. IV), Vives sees the influence of Roman denarii, and he would accordingly date them after 217 B.C., to the early days of Roman influence. It is however hardly possible to bring a coin such as that with the dolphin symbol (Pl. I, 22), down to so late a date.

There is also a long series of imitations of the Emporitan Pegasi bearing inscriptions, sometimes mere barbarous broken down Greek letters, sometimes Iberian, but seldom decipherable. *Iltrda* and *Iltrdašalir* are however to be read on certain drachms, which show a wolf below the Pegasus (Delgado, Pl. CXXX, 134 f.). The theory that these coins are coins of alliance between Emporion and various Iberian communities may be unhesitatingly rejected. That many of them are local Iberian copies is not improbable; and such an explanation is quite acceptable in the case of those which seem to represent known or possible Iberian names, like those of Ilerda just mentioned. Others, which seem to be merely blundered, may as Vives thinks be Gaulish imitations, but he probably goes too

far in declining to accept any of the imitations as Spanish, although he is willing to admit that "some were coined by tribes that inhabited the Pyrenees on one or the other side" (p. 13). Gauls are not likely to have copied Iberian names so correctly. It is to be observed that the wolf is a type of later Ilerdan coins; it is improbable that a mere imitator would have hit upon this combination.

As regards their art, we know too little to be able to assert that coins with certain characteristics generally supposed to be Gaulish may not have been made in that part of Spain which neighboured Gaul.

The fullest list of these inscriptions, to the number of 63, is given by Hübner (pp. 17–21); there is no doubt that the great majority of them are meaningless.

All writers previous to Vives have accepted as issues of the Spanish Emporion the drachms of the kind illustrated on Pl. I, 23. They are found in the neighbourhood, if the four specimens in the Barcelona Museum really come from the excavations at Ampurias; at any rate they are not known to come from Africa, nor do any coins certainly of Carthaginian origin seem to come from Ampurias. Delgado dates them earlier than the Pegasus drachms, and so does Zobel (*M.N.E.*, iv, pp. 129–30), speaking of their higher weight, more archaic fabric and paleographic peculiarities.

He attributes them to a period of Carthaginian domination, about 280–240 B.C. But they are local coins inspired by Carthaginian models, not Carthaginian issues (which would have shown better work).

Vives, on the other hand,¹⁷ will have none of them, although he admits that some have been found in Spain. The art, the types and the standard, he argues, are different from those of Emporion; and the substitution of N for M before Π shows, he says, that the inscription cannot have been written by a Emporitan. He was doubtless unaware that the failure to assimilate the N in such a collocation is familiar to students of Greek inscriptions; and it actually occurs on Pegasi (*e.g.* Vives, Pl. iii, 9). The suggestion that these coins were issued by a place called Emporion near Carthage in Africa is quite unacceptable. That they are Spanish is practically certain; there exist links between them and the Pegasus series in coins such as those (*cp.* Botet, p. xliii), which combine the head of Kore surrounded by dolphins on the obverse with the horse and Nike on the reverse. These are, it is true, uninscribed. One of the coins in question, moreover, was closely copied by the engraver of the curious coin with the reverse of Rhode mentioned under that place (Pl. I. 6).

As regards weight, it is true that it rises to

¹⁷ i, p. 16.

above 5 grm. (Zobel, p. 130, gives 5.06 grm., and a specimen at Vienna weighs 5.10 grm.) but this is exceptional. Specimens are too few for a satisfactory use of the frequency table; but 15 out of some 20 specimens fall together in the 4.75–4.90 area of such a table. They are therefore appreciably heavier than the Emporitan coins (see below); but since they agree in this respect with those of Rhode, it is clear that their weight does not forbid their attribution to Spain.

In style they appear to be less early than the best of the drachms; their relief is flatter, and the use of Π instead of Γ and the tendency towards the form in -εἰτῶν instead of -ιτῶν are also marks of lateness. The high weight may be explained if we suppose that, in initiating a new type, the authorities considered it desirable to go back to something like the original standard. Since they show revived interest in Carthage, it would seem reasonable to assign them to the period 280–240 B.C., as Zobel does (p. 131). They superseded, we may suppose, the earlier Pegasi; and they were followed, after the Roman influence was strengthened by the agreement of 240, by the revived Pegasi with the little figure on the head of the horse.

Vives, as we have seen, dates all the drachms with “signs of Roman influence” (*i.e.*, symbols under the Pegasus) and all the barbarous imitations with Iberian or other legends, after 217.

Roman denarii with symbols on the reverse were issued very soon after the introduction of the denarius itself. If, as recent research tends to show, the denarius was not introduced until the Second Punic War, we must date the beginning of the denarii with symbols to about the last decade of the third century B.C.; so that if the drachms in question are really inspired from that quarter, they can hardly begin so early as Vives supposes. Nevertheless symbols are found in the same position on other coins than Roman, *e.g.*, on the Tarentine 'horsemen,' and more especially on the Campano-Tarentine series. It may be observed that in style and fabric the Emporitan drachms come much nearer to these Campano-Tarentine staters (with their female head wearing a triple-drop earring on the obverse) than to Roman denarii. These Campano-Tarentine coins date, according to the current view, from the seventies of the third century. If they influenced the Emporitan drachms with symbols under the Pegasus, the latter may have originated as early as the middle of the century; as we have suggested, about 240.

The weights of the Pegasus drachms, according to Vives (i, p. 10), average about 4.50 grammes; *i.e.*, they are on a standard slightly degenerated from that of Rhode, which is only natural, since they are rather later. In this question we are hampered, as usual, by the fact that Vives has

not recorded any of the weights which he had exceptional opportunities of observing. Had he done so he could hardly have put the weight as low as he does. Fortunately his omission is largely repaired by the careful account of the Segarò hoard given by Pujol.¹⁸ The material available seems to point to the following conclusions:

The weights of the Pegasi of the Greek issues with the ordinary Pegasus are most frequently near the 4.70 line of the frequency diagram.¹⁹ The peak of the so-called "Chrysaor" Pegasi on the other hand is distinctly lower, being at 4.20 grm.; there are considerable numbers on the 4.25 and 4.30 grm. lines; and we must, I think, regard the norm as somewhere near 4.30. The barbarous imitations, with blundered Greek or with Iberian inscriptions, fall very little lower than the good Greek coins; the peak is, it is true, at 4.40 grm., but the slope above that point is very gradual, and there are comparatively large numbers in the neighbourhood of 4.70 and 4.65 grm. This would seem to show that these imitations are not much later than the good Greek Pegasi. The "Chrysaor" drachms with symbols show little difference from those without, being grouped much in the same way.

¹⁸ *Rev. de Ciencias Historicas*, 1881, pp. 142–162. These drachms were all of the so-called Chrysaor type, and there were none with Iberian inscriptions.

¹⁹ Intervals of 0.05 grm.

On the whole, therefore, we seem to be justified in regarding the original Greek Pegasi as belonging to the first quarter of the third century. The 'Carthaginian' type we date, with Zobel, to the period 280–240 B.C. The Pegasi of the so-called "Chrysaor" type we regard as following the 'Carthaginian.' The Segarò find shows that these later Pegasi remained in circulation down to the end of the second century; but that find contained no early Pegasi nor any Iberian imitations.²⁰

These Iberian imitations seem, from their weight, to be earlier than the 'Chrysaor' Pegasi with Greek inscriptions. They are probably contemporary with the Carthaginian type; for the fact that the ordinary Emporitan Pegasi had ceased to be coined would explain the rise of such imitations, made by the natives to take the place of the Pegasi to which they had become accustomed, and of which the supply had ceased. If this is so, then the Iberians invented the modification of the Pegasus with the little figure on his head; for it occurs on these imitations.

What was the origin of the standard of Rhode and Emporion is another question. A derivation from the standard of the Brettians is ruled out by the fact that their coinage does not begin, on any supposition, until the Pyrrhic period. It is

²⁰ Pujol in *Rev. de Ciencias Historicas*, 1881, pp. 142–162. Some of the denarii in this hoard used to be dated as late as 63 B.C., but recent research has brought them all up before about 100 B.C.

presumably the same as the standards in use at Gades and Ebusus; unfortunately the silver coins of these two places are so scarce that they are of little help in establishing the norm. But it is natural to look for a connexion with Carthage. Zobel and others, following him, suppose the weight of the silver drachm to be derived from the gold system of the Carthaginians, in which there is a denomination weighing from 4.82 to 4.62 grm.²¹ It seems unlikely that the silver coins, if based on that standard, should not infrequently exceed the normal weight. It is preferable therefore to suppose that this standard is to be explained by some relation between the precious metals peculiar to the country. That such a peculiar relation should have existed is not surprising in a country which was so rich in gold and especially silver.

After the formation of the Roman Province, the Indiketai, like other native tribes, issued coins in their own name, inscribed in Iberian characters,²² $\uparrow\text{N}\Psi\text{K}\text{S}\text{K}\text{N}$ or $\uparrow\text{N}\Psi\text{K}\text{S}\text{K}\text{N}$, but on a standard which has been supposed to bear some relation to the Roman bronze of the time. The coins which bear the names of the Indiketai alone (*Unticescen*

²¹ Müller, *Anc. Afr.*, II, p. 84, nos. 54–5.

²² The form *Unticescen* or *Unticscn* is probably a genitive plural: Schuchardt, *Iber. Dekl.*, p. 31. It is not possible to arrange the coins chronologically according to the use of one or the other of these forms, as it seems to be at Tarraco.

or *Unticsen*) are nearly all very late in style, and it is difficult to believe that many of them were struck much before the first century B.C.²³ The highest recorded weight for the ace is 26.70 gm. (Pl. II, 1 a well preserved specimen from Camp III at *Renieblas*, Haebelin, no. 129). Next come 24.175 gm. (the Lorichs specimen, Catal., no. 1207); 24.12 gm. (Delg. 191). It apparently corresponds to the uncial ace (full weight 27.29 gm.), but when there was no regularity in the weights of the coins issued at Rome itself, it cannot be expected here. It is better in dealing with the Iberian series to renounce any attempt to coördinate them with the Roman. Further, as we shall see in dealing with other series, the heaviest Iberian bronzes are not necessarily the earliest. Aces of these types fall very low: as 9.68 gm. (London); 9.10 (Delg. 201); 8.19 and 8.17 (Delg. 212 and 213); *i.e.* well below the semuncial norm (13.644 gm.) established by the *lex Papiria semunciaria* in 89 B.C. for the Roman

²³ Zobel puts the beginning of the Romano-Iberian coinage about 217 B.C. (*Mem. Num. Esp.*, iv, p. 219); Botet (p. xlix) thinks it is after that date. Nevertheless (p. liii, note 1) he makes an exception for Emporiae, which he thinks began to coin bronze with Iberian inscriptions as early as the middle of the third century. His reason is that there is little or no Greek bronze of Emporiae or Rhode, and bronze was needed to serve as small change for the silver. It is however a commonplace of numismatic history that communities are able to dispense with such bronze coinage.

ace. Although a certain number of the pieces of better style may have been struck during the second century,²⁴ it is probable that the great majority, of which the style is thoroughly debased and the weight low, belong to the first century B.C.

The various groups of coins ²⁵ in the name of the Indiketai are the following:

- I. Coins struck in the name of the Indiketai alone (*Unticescen*). Vives has divided these into two series, according to whether they have on the obverse nothing, or certain letters: (𐌲| as a rule, Pl. II, 2, once XV, Pl. II, 3 which is thought to be the Roman numeral, Λ↑\$ (Hübner, 9) which is also thought to be a numeral, on the aces; 𐌲 on the semis; 𐌲- on the quadrans, Pl. II, 4; and M on the sextans).²⁶


²⁴ The Renieblas specimen should belong to before 153 B.C., if it was fairly new at the time of the occupation in that year. But there was a second occupation in 137 B.C. (Haeberlin, p. 66), when Mancinus surrendered to the Numantines.


²⁵ See Botet, pp. liv, lv (lists of symbols and legends); Vives, ii, pp. 5 ff.


²⁶ If Λ↑\$ (so, and not with the first two signs transposed as Vives gives it) and XV (Delgado 206, 207) are numerals, 𐌲| cannot be, since it occurs on the same coins. But it might be argued that 𐌲- is a mark of value, since it occurs on the quadrans, and the quadrans only, not only in the series now being considered, but also in the *Eθrθr* series. See below, II, D.

This does not mean that these first and second 'series of emissions' are separable in date by the *differentiae* which he indicates.



II. We now come to the groups or series with additional inscriptions.

A.  (-*qorkleš* or -*gorbeleš*) on an ace in the Paris collection (Vives 34, Heiss, Pl. IV, 43, Delg. 199).

 (*iqorkleš* or *iqorbeleš*) read on an impression of a semis in the Cervera collection, and on a quadrans in the Bosch Collection in the Prado, by Vives, nos. 35, 36. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 28 and 212, followed by Vives, restores this form on the ace. I can make out nothing of the name read by Vives on the Bosch quadrans.

 (*isqrkleš* or *isqrbeleš*) on a semis: Pujol, *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, v, 1884, p. 349, no. 60. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 215; Hübner, no. 8b. On the strength of this, Hübner would read *isqrkleš*, not *iqrkleš*, on the ace.



The name *iqorkleš* or *iqorbeleš* occurs on a coin of Arse-Saguntum (see below, p. 122). As the same tribal or city-name is not likely to have occurred on both series, the theory that it is a personal name, that is a magistrate's, is to be preferred.


B.  or in abbreviation  (on the coins which also bear the name or names



described under *A*). Zobel, *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 250, v, pp. 28–9, p. 213, no. 18; Hübner, no. 8; Vives, nos. 34–36. Zobel reads *iltrarkr*, Hübner *iltrarc du*; the last letter certainly seems to be differentiated from the fourth and sixth. But to suppose, with Zobel and Hübner, that the word contains the conjoint names of two tribes, *iltrd* (= Ilerdenses) and *arcdu(rg)*, who are joined in triple alliance with the Indiketai, is to strain probability to the utmost. It is sufficient to point out that on the semis and quadrans of this group only *ilt* appears; the whole word is therefore probably only one name, and may be a second magistrate's.

C. **EXQ** (*edar*). Coins with this inscription on the reverse, which bears the type of the lion (Pl. II, 5), have been regarded as aces, and grouped with those inscribed *eθrθr*. (Zobel, ii, pp. 212–3, nos. 20–22; Vives, nos. 39–40, no weights given.) In Delgado (iii, p. 160, nos. 237, 238) they are regarded as divisions of the ace, though they have the high weight of 13.32 and 14.52 grm. (cp. Heiss, p. 94, no. 47, weighing 12.08 grm.). By their types they should be quadrantes. But these would be abnormally high weights for that denomi-

nation, even in view of the notoriously irregular range of weights in the bronze coinage of this period. In a coinage so rude it is difficult to say, from their style, whether these coins of *edar* are much earlier than the others; but there seems to be no doubt that they must be separated from those of *eθrθr*.

D.  *Eθrθr* (Pl. II, 6)²⁷ has generally been taken as a tribal name;²⁸ for Vives it may be the name of a magistrate. The coins which bear the name *edar* must be excluded from this series; see above. The form  on coins such as Pl. II, 4, is supposed to be an abbreviation of *Eθrθr*, but of this there is no certainty. See above, on coins with the name of the Indiketai alone.


E.  (*edaban* or *edavan*) (Pl. II, 7). Hübner, no. 6, III, *k*; Vives, 47, 48, probably a personal name.

F.  and  (Pl. II, 8). The reading of these (*adkls* or *adabeles* and *tikri* or *tiberi*) appears to be certain, and Vives's

²⁷ A well-preserved specimen was found in Camp III at Renieblas (Haeberlin, no. 128), weight 12.43 gm. It is presumably not later than 137 B.C.

²⁸ Zobel thinks that the Greek *Rhode* was suggested by this native form. See Hübner, no. 4, p. 16.

reading (*ukri*) is condemned by his own illustrations. Heiss, p. 93, Pl. IV, 44; Delg., iii, p. 158 f., nos. 218 f., Pl. CXXXVII, and 231-2, Pl. CXXXVIII; Zobel, ii, pp. 28-9 and pp. 214-5, nos. 46-7; Hübner, no. 7; Vives, nos. 37-8. Here again it seems most reasonable to see a pair of magistrates' names. Schulten (*Num.*, i, p. 134) regards the inscription as a place name.

G.  (*šergia*) (Pl. II, 10). Heiss, Pl. III, 48; Delg., no. 214; Hübner, no. 13; Vives, no. 45 (who reads *šerna* in error). The reading is clear on Pl. II, 10 and the Hunter specimen. This coin, if the issues are to be divided into series as Vives has divided them, should form a series by itself. The name may be regarded as personal. Schulten (*Num.*, i, p. 131, note) would connect it with the place name Sargantha. (Steph. Byz.)

It would seem then that the coinage of Indica, until the erection of the joint city into a municipium and the foundation of the colony of Caesar's veterans, was controlled by magistrates who signed their names, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups of two, one on each side of the coin (like the magistrates of Apollonia and Dyrhachium).

The standing type of the obverse of these Iberian coins is a head of Roma (or possibly Minerva), in a helmet of late Hellenistic form, usually corresponding to that found on Roman or Italian denarii of the beginning of the first century. To be noticed is the feather which decorates the helmet; this is a feature which occurs on denarii about the beginning of the first century.²⁹ The derivation of the type is to be looked for in Rome rather than in some S. Italian mint such as Cales or Suessa.

The reverse types (as to the origin of which, speculations will be found in Vives, pp. 6 ff.) are:

For the ace, the Pegasus, usually but not always of the so-called Chrysaor type, proving its derivation from the silver coinage of Emporion, and, indeed, fixing the coinage to that mint.

For the semis, the bull about to toss, not necessarily borrowed; the bull, after all, must have been familiar to the Spaniards from time immemorial. But if it is a loan from anywhere, the source is likely to be Massalia rather than Syracuse.

For the triens, a sea-horse (Pl. II, 9).

²⁹ Grueber, *B.M.C. Rom. Rep.*, Pl. XCIV, 4; XCV, 7-9; XCVI, 4-7; XCIX, 3, etc.

For the quadrans, the lion.³⁰ If borrowed, then from Massalia rather than Velia.

For the sextans, the horse, or horse's head. Both perhaps from the Romano-Campanian, or in the case of the former, possibly from Numidia. Below the horse's head on Pl. II, 10 and its like is a dolphin; an indeterminate object close to the back of the truncation of the neck is not, as has been supposed, a second dolphin.

For the uncia, a wild boar (Vives, Pl. XVI, 5 and p. 7). The attribution of this coin is not certain.

For the half-uncia, a dolphin (Vives, p. 7).

A cock is also found as the reverse of a quadrans (?)—see Pl. II, 11 (Newell Coll., cp. Delg., no. 217). For the type, the bronze coins of Cales, after 268 B.C., have been compared.

We now come to the coins with Latin inscriptions. The reverse type of all is the Pegasus; but the transformation of his head into a little figure is no longer seen. They fall into the following groups.

A. Aces with head of Diana, inscription EMPORIA on obverse, MVNICI on rev. (Pl. III, 1). The form of the *p* is not clear on specimens accessible to me; the *i* sometimes has the Iberian

³⁰ See however, above, on the coins such as Pl. II, 5, which can hardly be of so low a denomination as the *quadrans*.

form. By Botet (p. lxxiii) these coins are regarded as later than the others to be described. This is improbable; for one thing, the survival of Iberian letters is an argument against their lateness.

B. Aces with head of Minerva, no inscr. on obv., EMPOR on rev.; wreath above Pegasus (Pl. III, 2). The helmet of Minerva is of the usual shape, with plain round bowl. The *p* in the inscr. is rounded, but not quite closed. The wreath when visible is of degenerate form, consisting of a circle of pellets. These coins were frequently countermarked later.

C. Aces with types similar to *B*, but the helmet of Minerva has the bowl divided into two distinctly marked lobes; a feather is often seen projecting from between them and between the two waves of the crest. On the obverse is a string of initials, usually accompanied by Q, indicating presumably the names of the duoviri quinquenales.³¹ These coins fall again into two subgroups:

a. The magistrates' initials are usually only four in number,³² *i.e.* they probably indicate praenomen and gentile name of two men (Pl. III, 3). The *p* in the inscription is of an early form, Γ , sometimes inclining to roundness, but

³¹ Hübner (*C.I.L.*, II, p. 615) takes the Q to mean *Quaestores*.

³² On one issue, however, one of the two magistrates gives his cognomen in the unusually full form NICOM (Pl. III, 4).

never closed. The wreath is usually fairly well made, leaves being suggested.

b. The magistrates' initials are usually six in number; sometimes we find more than one of the first letters of a name; and the stops are so curiously strewn about that it is often difficult to divide up the names. It is probable however that in all cases we have the praenomen, gentile name and cognomen of two quinquennial magistrates. The *p* is always rounded and usually closed. The wreath is generally of a degraded form, a mere ring of pellets, sometimes with a pellet in the middle (Pl. III, 5, 6).

D. Small denominations, with the same types, and abbreviated inscription. Some of these seem to read IM instead of EM;³³ on others, the first letter looks like a broken down Iberian *e*.³⁴ Their weights range from 3.20 to 1.10 grm. They are presumably quadrantes.

How are these groups chronologically related? Vives (iv, pp. 5-7) places them all in a transitional period, as a continuation of the group with Iberian inscriptions, and cannot say that they correspond to the imperial rather than to the republican period. Delgado (iii, p. 130) also makes them follow the Iberian bronze coins, and dates them from the middle of the first century to the time of Augustus, subdividing them into the following groups in chronological order:

³³ Cp. IMPOR on an ace illustrated by Heiss, Pl. III, 55.

³⁴ Cp. Delg., 284 and 286.

- (a) Aces with head of Diana (our group *A*).
Emporia declared a Roman municipium; fusion by Julius Caesar of the three peoples, Greek, Indigete and Latin.
- (b) Duoviral coinage (our group *C*).
- (c) Coinage without names of duoviri, but only EMPOR or EMPORIT,³⁵ and divisions with EM or EMP (our groups *B* and *D*). These Delgado regards as contemporary with the earlier coins with names of duoviri; they were, he says, struck in large quantities over a short time, and afterwards countermarked D D by the curia of Emporiae.

The open form of *p*, on the coins with which we are dealing, was gradually being superseded by the closed form; the latter is found as early as Augustus, for instance on coins of Bilbilis; the former as late as Caligula on coins of Caesar-augusta. It does not therefore help us much in dating our coins; but it is a fair presumption that the very open forms, with a tendency to squareness, such as those found on some quadrantes, or on duoviral coins such as that on Pl. III, 4, which have been grouped in the British Museum among the earlier, are earlier than the completely

³⁵ This longer form, however, is probably confined to the coins with names of duoviri; apparent exceptions seem to be coins on which the names have been worn off the obverse. On some coins, EMPORIA rather than EMPORIT seems to be suggested.

closed forms which occur on some duoviral coins with the six initials (Pl. III, 5). The square-headed form does not occur, so far as I am able to judge, on the aces without magistrates' names; but, on the other hand, though rounded, it does not seem ever to be closed. These aces without magistrates' names are on the whole in better style than those with magistrates' names; the helmet of Minerva is of a better shape (without the impractical bilobed bowl), the relief is slightly higher; on the other hand the small wreath on the reverse seems to be as degenerate as on the worst of the duoviral coins. The fact that the countermark *DD* is found frequently on this anonymous group, and not on the duoviral groups, seems to indicate that the anonymous coins preceded the others, and were countermarked by the duoviri with the sign *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* after they had ceased to be struck.

As to the Diana aces, remains of the Iberian script are found in the Latin inscriptions on some of them: *e.g.* Delgado, no. 242, *MVNIK*, no. 243, *MNN*; confirmed by the two Lorichs specimens at Stockholm and one at Copenhagen reading as Delgado's no. 242. This may be taken as a sign of comparatively early date.

It would seem natural, therefore, taking everything into consideration, to place our groups *A*, *B*, *C*, in that order, relatively, with *D* as contemporary partly with *B*, perhaps partly with *C*.

But here we are met with the difficulty that, judging by the style of the helmet of Minerva, the group *C* must be continuous with the later Iberian coins, which show the same degraded form. It may be observed that certain Iberian coins³⁶ (which show a Pegasus with the ordinary horse's head, and a wreath above it) might very well, but for their inscription, be classed with the duoviral coins.

We are thus driven to the conclusion that the Iberian mint continued to function after the introduction of the coinage with the head of Diana and the title *municipium*, and probably right through the period in which the coins inscribed *Empor*, without duoviral names, were being struck; and that the Iberian coinage only ceased when the duoviral coins began to be issued. That, in fact, there were two mints in operation. But an exact dating of the various groups seems to be beyond reach.

In style, the head of Diana is of the first century B.C., probably about the middle of the century. It should be compared with the heads on Roman denarii,³⁷ rather than with the entirely unrelated Massaliote type which Vives (iv, p. 6) has picked out for comparison. But there is no need to search for a model on foreign coinage, since (*pace* Vives) the type of Artemis occurs on the silver coinage of Emporion itself (Pl. I, 19).

³⁶ *E.g.* the Hunterian coin, Macdonald, iii, Pl. XCVI, 4.

³⁷ *E.g.* Grueber, *Rom. Rep.*, iii, Pl. XLI, 16 (B.C. 81-73).

Of the inscriptions on the coins of the *duoviri quinquennales*, the following may be mentioned here as rarer than the others.

Q V A I C (Pl. III, 3). Vives, p. 8, no. 2, Pl. CXXI, 2; Delg., iii, p. 224. Placed by both Delgado³⁸ and Vives immediately after the Diana aces. Botet (p. lxxiv) proposes to read *quais* for *quaestores*!

Q I L C R. Vives, p. 7, no. 5 (but he describes no specimen, nor does Delgado nor Botet).

P I P C S M Q (Pl. III, 6). Vives, p. 9, no. 18.

Aces of Emporiae are sometimes found cut in half (like those of Nemausus) to provide semisses.³⁹ Pujol (*Mem. Num. Esp.*, iii, p. 163 f.), Delgado (nos. 287–293) and Botet (p. lxxiv) notice on aces of Emporiae the following countermarks:

Dolphin within a circle of dots.

DD (*decreto decurionum*).

Σ (also found on Latin coins of Saguntum).

PMP (in three separate marks).

Herring-bone like object between two other uncertain, *e.g.* Pl. III, 2 (certainly not a shield, as Pujol supposes).

³⁸ Delgado under no. 249 (misprinted 149 in his plate) gives a specimen with MVNICIPI on the reverse. If this combination really exists, it shews that this group of coins should come at the beginning of the series with magistrates' name.

³⁹ Vives, Pl. CXXIII, 13.

REGIO TARRACONENSIS

CESE—TARRACO

The attribution to Tarraco of the coins inscribed $\epsilon\tau\varsigma\epsilon$ or $\kappa\tau\varsigma\epsilon$, is, as Vives observes,¹ indisputable, immense quantities of them being found on the site and in its neighbourhood (some thousand of the aces were found in the quarry *de Corrupt* in 1850). The Iberian name² appears as *Kίσσα* in Polybius (iii, 76, 5), as *Cissis* in Livy (xxi, 60, 61); the place was the capital of the Cessetani, who inhabited the district between the Hiberus and the Rubricatus, with (according to Ptolemy³), Tarraco and Sabur as their coast-towns. Tarraco itself was an important Iberian fortress.⁴ It is supposed that Cissa lay somewhat inland, west of Tarraco, which may have served as its harbour and took

¹ ii, p. 65. Heiss, pp. 112, 115–128. Delgado, iii, pp. 386–401. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 36ff., 40–1, Pl. II, 3–11, IV, 5; pp. 222–235, nos. 95–128, 155–74, 179–83, 198–214, 220–225. Berlanga, p. 191 n. Pujol, *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1885, p. 329; *R.C.H.*, iv, 1886, pp. 146–7; *epigr.*, nos. 77a–p, 78a, b. Hübner, 21, 21a, with earlier references. Vives, ii, pp. 65–81.

² Hübner in P.W., s.v. *Cessetani*.

³ Whose MSS. give *Κοσσεραυόλ*, *Κοσιταυόλ*, *Κοσηταυόλ*.

⁴ Schulten, *Tarragona* (repr. from *Deutsche Zeitung für Spanien*, nos. 99–100), describes the Iberian remains.

its place when it was destroyed. Some have attributed the coins reading *Cesse* to one place, and those reading *Cese* or *Cse* to another. They are however exactly alike in style, and the former show the same sort of issue-marks on the obverse as the latter (✠ being common to both series). It seems impossible to separate them. A similar doubling of the sibilant is found at Turiaso; cp. also *Iturissa*, *Iturisa*.


The series is the most extensive issued by any Iberian mint, and presents the most complete set of denominations. The coins had a wide circulation; it is significant, for instance, that it was coins of this mint that were chosen by the proprietors of the mine at *el Centenillo* (near *La Carolina*, prov. of Jaen, in the Sierra Morena) to countermark.⁵


Vives distinguishes 33 different issues, which he has attempted to arrange in chronological order; judging by their style, his arrangement seems to be on the whole justified. Some slight alterations in the order have been made here, and for convenience sake, the specimens here described are divided into the following series:

See also the guide to *Tarragona antigua y moderna*, by E. Morera y Llauredó, Tarragona, 1894. The *Historia de Tarragona* of B. Hernández Sanahuja and the *Monumentos romanos en Tarragona* of L. Serrewllach, cited by J. Ramón Mélida, *Monumentos romanos de España* (Madrid 1925), are not accessible to me.

⁵ See below, p. 46.

COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR 41

I. Inscription *cese* (with the earlier form  for the first syllable). Bronze from ace to sextans (Vives, issues 1-4). Pl. III, 7-12.

II. Inscription *cese* (with the later form ). Silver denarius, quinarius, and bronze ace to uncia (Vives, issues 5-7). Pl. III, 13, 14; IV, 1-6. A group with a palm-branch gives the transition to the next series.⁶

III. Inscription *cese*. Bronze from ace to sextans (Vives, issues 8-33). Pl. IV, 7-16.

IV. Inscription *cesse*. Bronze from ace to quadrans (Vives, pp. 83-4, issues 1-3). Pl. V, 1, 2.

The last two series seem to be more or less contemporaneous; or, rather, series IV may be placed about the middle of series III, when letters instead of symbols first begin to be used as issue-marks.

The obverse type of the silver and bronze, down to the sextans, is the male head, always except on the early ace above mentioned beardless, and usually bare on the first two series, clothed on the third and fourth; on two issues (Vives, 3 and 4) it is laureate. The quadrans (Pl. III, 10) and uncia have a head of Mercury. The reverse types are:

* Besides the Glasgow specimen (Macdonald, Pl. XCVI, 12), there are other specimens of this group at Berlin (9.00 g.) and in the V.Q.R. (no. 253) and Newell Collections. The ace found at Numantia and misattributed by Haeberlin to Celsa (no. 132 in his list, heavily corroded, wt. 13.20 g.) must be added to the list.

Ace: the usual rider, carrying branch, probably of palm (although the leaves are usually less long and jointed than they should be, it can hardly be meant for laurel or olive). He wears a helmet, usually crested, but not always; a cuirass with pteryges or else a tunic with pleated skirt; and boots with falling tags.

Semis: bridled horse, walking or prancing, the rein extending over his back, as if he were being driven (Pl. IV, 10).

Triens: horse standing; on some (Pl. IV, 2) he appears to be bending down towards a small object, which looks like the head of a bull; his attitude is that of a horse about to lie down, like the horse on a well-known series of Larisaeian coins (B.M.C. Thessaly, *Larisa*, nos. 56 ff.; generally interpreted as a grazing horse).

Quadrans: forepart of Pegasus (Pl. IV, 5); but in one set, that with the club as obverse symbol, there are no less than three different types for this denomination: hippocamp, cock (Pl. IV, 9) and hound.

Sextans: dolphin (Pl. IV, 3).

Uncia: horse prancing (Pl. IV, 6).

The type of the young male head (generally called Hercules), so frequent on Spanish coins, has not found its interpretation;⁷ though the idea of the types may have been inspired by the

⁷ See Zobel, *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 239.

bronze coins of Hieron II.⁸ These coins of Hieron must have circulated largely in Spain, if it is true, as it is said, that they are very common in Spanish collections.⁹ If the head on the obverse was copied from that on Hieron's coin, the diadem was removed and the head must have received some significance plain to the Iberians but lost to us.

The rider of the reverse is the famous Iberian *jinete* or light horseman.¹⁰ When he carries arms, his weapon is usually a lance, but he is occasionally provided with other arms, as to

⁸ Vives, II, p. 30; this derivation is accepted by Schulten in *Phil. Woch.*, 1927, 1583: "Rome honoured its true ally by placing his type on the coins struck in Spain."

⁹ I examined various collections at Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia and Zaragoza, and found no confirmation of this statement.

¹⁰ See Zobel, *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 242 f. For statuettes of this figure, see P. Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, ii, pp. 224 f. On the origin of the Spanish name for the rider, Hübner (*Jahrb.*, xiii, 1898, p. 124) makes the ingenious suggestion that it is derived from *γυμνήτης*, a naked rider, characteristic of Spain according to earliest Greek visitors. He is presumably thinking of the passage of Avienus (v. 464) which describes the Gymnetes as inhabiting the mainland between the Sicanus and Massia. But he gives no authority for his last statement, and the word seems actually to have been the name not of the light-armed Spanish horseman but of the Balearic slinger.—The rider on the reverse of the coins of Hieron which Vives gives as the model of these coins does not of course necessarily represent the king himself.

which the careful study by Horace Sandars must be consulted.¹¹

As to this rider-type, Schulten¹² makes the important observation that on the coins of the coast-tribes first subdued by Rome (in Hübner's *regio Tarraconensis*, *regio Ilerdensis* and *regio Saguntina*) the rider carries peaceful emblems, especially the palm; whereas in the parts later subdued (in the upper Ebro valley and in Celtiberia) he carries the lance couched; this, Schulten says, shows the Roman origin of the coins. He draws the following deduction: If the Iberian coins were issued "ex S.C.," only subject communities can have issued them; and this can be shown to be so. From the map of the mints in Hübner's *M.L.I.* it is clear that they are confined to the district subdued by Rome down to 133 B.C., that they are thickest in the Ebro valley, on the East Coast, in Baetica, much rarer in Celtiberia, and entirely absent in Lusitania and in the North West which was only conquered by Augustus. This explains why so important a place as Numantia has no coins; it struck none, because it was not conquered.

The deduction seems to be generally true, but the premisses are not quite sound. Thus the rider carries a lance on coins of the following places in *regio Tarraconensis*, Ilduro, *Osconcn*; in

¹¹ *The Weapons of the Iberians* in *Archaeologia*, LXIV, 1913.

¹² *Numantia*, I, p. 243.

regio Ilerdensis, Otogesa; in *regio Saguntina*, Saguntum itself and Saetabis, on the earlier issues. On the later, at Saetabis, the palm takes its place; and, as we shall see, this change may date from after the Numantine war.

To return to the special series of Cese-Tarraco: The usual marks of value occur on the denominations from the triens downwards. On a few coins, pellets occur in the field; these are probably secret issue-marks (see Heiss, Pl. VI, 11; VII, 37, 40, 41; Vives, Pl. XXXV, 8).

The issue of the bronze doubtless began in the first half of the second century.¹³ The weight of the heaviest aces is recorded at 18 to 20 grm.;¹⁴ this weight (20.01 grm.) is also reached by a coin in the British Museum. But the mass of the bronze coinage, if one judged by the weight alone, would have to be placed later than the semuncial reduction. There is reason, however, to suppose that the Spanish system, if there was one, had little relation to the Roman. In weight as well as style the later bronze degenerates rapidly (the smaller denominations ceasing to be issued except rarely). The portrait-like treatment of some of the later issues (*e.g.* Pl. IV, 16) is remarkable.

¹³ A *semis*, apparently of series II, was found in Renieblas, Camp III (Haeberlin, p. 37, no. 130: "well-preserved"); also a *quadran*s of ser. II (*ibid.*, 131, "excellent condition," here Pl. IV, 5). Farther, Haeberlin's no. 132 is an ace of Cese of Series II, in poor condition.

¹⁴ Heiss, p. 118, no. 3; Vives gives no weights.

This series is not normally countermarked, nor indeed is any of the Iberian bronze. The dotted countermark S C on a coin in the British Museum is probably the mark of a mining society, perhaps that which owned the mine now known as *el Centenillo*.¹⁵

UNDER THE EMPIRE

Roman Tarraco was created by the Scipios (Publius and Gnaeus the brothers, and P. Africanus Major: Pliny, *N.H.*, iii, 3, 21). The colony¹⁶ at Tarraco was probably founded by Julius Caesar, for the title *Col. I(ulia) V. T. Tarraco* is found in a few inscriptions, though not on coins. The other abbreviations stand for *Victrix Triumphalis*, for we know from Florus Rhetor that it took its name from the triumphs of Caesar. Nevertheless it was a purely civil foundation; the coin-types are not military, the ox or bull meaning merely that land was assigned to citizens.

Under Augustus, it superseded Carthago Nova as the capital of all Citerior. The Emperor, when he fell sick on his Cantabrian campaign,

¹⁵ *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, i, 1911, p. 102. Also on five similar coins in the Newell coll. from Sandars sale, lot 166.

¹⁶ Hübner in *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 538. Pliny's *Scipionum opus* means that they built the second wall of Tarraco over the remains of the Iberian wall: Schulten, *Tarragona*, as above, p. 6.

stayed there a long while from 25 to 24 B.C. The inhabitants dedicated an altar to him, presumably on this occasion; this altar, together with the palm which grew up on it, and was the occasion of a characteristic sarcasm of Augustus,¹⁷ is represented on the coins (Pl. V, 8, 11). The spear and shield that adorn it are Cantabrian trophies. A temple to *Deus Augustus* was also erected there, permission being granted by Tiberius.¹⁸ The temple was dedicated *Aeternitati Augustae*, as the coins shew, but from the inscriptions it appears that Roma and other deities were associated in the worship. Jupiter Ammon was worshipped in another temple.¹⁹

The coins of the colony²⁰ without imperial portraits or names are all placed by Vives at the end of the series. They all have the bull as obverse type; but those which have on the reverse simply a laurel-wreath containing the initials C.V.T. (Pl. V, 3, Vives nos. 23-25) seem to be earlier in style than those which have the altar

¹⁷ Quint., 6, 3, 77.

¹⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, i, 78. Hübner's remark on the worship of the Emperor being inaugurated *vivo adhuc Augusto* might be taken to imply that the temple was erected at the time; but it really applies only to the altar, the evidence for the erection of which during the Emperor's lifetime is only Quintilian's story. The altar does not appear on the coins until after the death of Augustus.

¹⁹ Schulten, *Tarragona* as above, p. 10.

²⁰ Vives, iv, pp. 128 ff.

of Augustus,²¹ and the longer title C.V.T.T.²² In our arrangement the two groups are accordingly separated.

To the reign of Augustus belong three groups of coins, on two of which the Caesars Gaius and Lucius (Pl. V, 4, 5), on the third the Caesar Tiberius, appear. It is strange to find Gaius and Lucius described as twins (*gemini*).²³ Eckhel suggests that they were regarded as a second pair of Dioscuri. The type of the Caesars standing with their shields is derived from the Roman aurei or denarii struck first probably at Lugdunum about 2 B.C.²⁴

All the other imperial coinage belongs to the reign of Tiberius. The large coins commemorating the worship of Augustus (Pl. V, 6) were doubtless first struck at the time of the erection of the temple, which was authorized in A.D. 15. As to the coins on which other members of the imperial family are associated with Tiberius, those with the heads of Livia and Drusus son of Tiberius (Pl. V, 9), must have been struck before

²¹ Cp. Botet, p. lxxvi.

²² Vives, no. 22, is read by him C.V.T.T., but it bears only C.V.T.; so also no. 23. The inscription on the coin described by Vives, no. 26 (C.A.I.A.), is probably a mere blunder; the obv. inscription represents TAR, the rev. C.V.T.T.

²³ It is clear that the young men represented are not the twin grandsons of Tiberius.

²⁴ Mattingly, B.M.C., *Rom. Emp.*, i, p. 88.

A.D. 23, and those with the heads of Drusus and Tiberius' nephew Germanicus, adopted by Tiberius in A.D. 4 (Pl. V, 10), before A.D. 19, these dates being given by the deaths of Drusus and Germanicus.

The denominations represented are not only the ace, semis and quadrans, but a heavier denomination which Vives classifies as dupondius; from their weight it is more probable that these last pieces are to be called sestertii; certainly a Roman, accustomed to his own sestertii, would have taken them for such.

Of the types, the seated figure of the Emperor (Pl. V, 6) is similar to that found at Turiaso and Caesaraugusta, with certain differences in attributes and the form of the seat. There is probably little exactitude in these reproductions, for such they doubtless are, of the statues erected to the deified Augustus, possibly the actual cult statues in the temples. How careless the coin-engravers can be in such matters may be seen on comparing the two contemporary representations of the façade of the temple, on which the podium is quite differently represented. The temple dedication *Aeternitati Augustae* is interesting in connexion with the vows which, it is supposed, were annually offered *pro aeternitate Augusta*.²⁵ The dedication of the coins *Deo Augusto* (whereas, Eckhel remarks, the Romans were content to use

²⁵ See the citations in de Ruggiero, *Dizionario*, i, 320.

the form *Divus*) is noticeable; perhaps an example of provincial excess in adulation.

The bull, on at least some of the coins, has between his horns a triangular object, such as is seen elsewhere, *e.g.* at Caesaraugusta and Erca-vica, see p. 95 (Pl. V, 11).

LAEETANI

This tribe is mentioned by Pliny (iii, 21²⁶), Strabo (*Λαητανοί* iii, 4, 8; C. 159), Ptolemy (*Λαιητανοί* ii, 6, 18, 74); cp. *C.I.L.*, ii, 4226 and 6171, and Schulten in *R.E.*, 12, 1, col. 399. They occupied the district between the Cessetani (about Tarraco) and the Indigetes (about Emporiae); the coast towns in this region being Barcino, Baetulo and Blanda. To them are attributed the coins inscribed *ΛΡΜΕΜΕΥ* *laiešcen* or *laiešcn* (Hübner, no. 19; Botet, p. lvi; Vives, ii, p. 49 f.). They may possibly have been struck at Barcino.²⁷ These coins are divided by Vives into three issues: (1) ace, semis and quadrans of heavy²⁸ weight and usual types, without symbols (Pl. VI, 1); (2) the same denominations of light

²⁶ MSS. *lacetani*, *laetani*, *letani*, *laletani*, *lactani*. Distinguish *Laeetani* from *Lacetani* and *Iacetani*: Schulten in *Hermes*, 63, p. 289.

²⁷ Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 37 and 40, note 11.

²⁸ Weights: 21.09 (Br. Mus.); 20.70 (Heiss, p. 213, no. 1); 19.78 (Berlin, Pl. VI, 1).

weight, also without symbols; (3) an ace of light weight, symbol spear-head (Pl. VI, 2). The head on the obverse is bound with a fillet (not laureate, as Vives says). On one coin in the British Museum, which would appear to belong to his second issue, there may perhaps be a star behind the head. It is by no means certain that the heavier series is earlier than the lighter; see below under Celsa and Seθiscen, pp. 77, 104.

BAITULO

The coins ²⁹ inscribed **ΙϺΩΛΗ** come from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Ebro, as Delgado informed Hübner.³⁰ He reads *Iaitzole*. The identification of the name with *Baetulo* is plausible, if we can accept the view that **Ι** has the sound of *ba* or *va*. Hübner and Schuchardt ³¹ regard it as a variant of *i*; Zobel as a consonantal *i* including an *a* (giving *iaitole* for the whole word). He identifies the *Iaitoletes* with the corrupt *Lartolaietes* of the MSS. of Strabo, iii, 4, 8;

²⁹ Delgado, iii, p. 266; Heiss, p. 109; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 38, p. 41, p. 221 (nos. 137, 138), p. 232 (no. 215); Pujol in *Bol.*, vii, 1888, p. 35; *R.C.H.*, iv, 1886, p. 207; *epigr.*, no. 121; Cat. V. Quadras y Ramon, nos. 306–8; Hübner, no. 27; Botet, p. lix; Vives, ii, p. 61. Other references in Hübner.

³⁰ In his book, however, Delgado gives no such information, though he assigns the coins to that district.

³¹ *Iber. Dekl.*, p. 29.

C. 159: inhabitants of the coast region N. of Barcelona. His suggestion has met with less favour than it deserves. Considering that Iberian has no proper *b*, the Roman Baetulo may well represent a word beginning with an indeterminate sound (including an *a*). In Gómez-Moreno's system Iberian I represents BA or MA; I should prefer the alternatives BA or VA, in view of the equation, to be discussed later, $\text{IMOMES} = \text{Vascones}$. The style and type of the coins are not against it, and the symbol of the rudder would be in place on coins of a maritime mint. Baetulo is represented by Badalona.³²

The denominations ace and quadrans (Pl. VI, 3, 4) alone are known. The coinage, judging from the degraded style and light weight of some specimens, ranged over a long period.

ILDURO

The name (ILADON) appears to be the same as the *Iluro* of the Latin authors,³³ the internal dental being softened and lost as in *Ilerda* for *Iltrda*. There is nothing in the fabric or style of the coins to prevent our attributing them to the

³² See especially J. de C. Serra-Ràfols, *Forma Conventus Tarraconensis*, I, pp. 27 ff. (in *Memòries of the Institut d'estudis catalans*, Vol. I, fasc. 4, Barcelona, 1928).

³³ Meia, ii, 90; Plin., iii, 22; *C.I.L.*, ii, 613, 987; Ptol., ii, 6, 18, calls it Αἰλουρον or Αἰλουρών .

Iluro of the Laetani; Pujol noticed the resemblance of the head on one of the coins which he saw at Barcelona to that on the coins inscribed *Laiescen*.³⁴ In the style of the head, the coins of Ilduro are certainly nearer these northern coins, than to those of Saguntum or Saetabis. The only point in favour of the attribution to the Saguntine region is the fact that the rider is armed with a spear. But this is not conclusive; see the remarks on Schulten's theory, under Tarraco, above (p. 44).

Iluro is now *Mataró*, on the coast 27 km. N.E. of Barcelona.³⁵

The coins (Pl. VI, 5-9) are all of bronze (ace to sextans).³⁶ Vives distinguishes the following five issues, to which a sixth has to be added. The ace

³⁴ Letter quoted by Hübner (p. 49 at bottom) and dismissed as of no importance!

³⁵ The identification with *Ildum* (*Alcalà de Chisvert*) between Dertosa and Saguntum, in spite of Schulten's acceptance (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1927, no. 52) must be rejected, and *Liria* has even less claim. The identification with Mataró is conclusively proved by J. de C. Serra-Ràfols (*Forma Conv. Tarraconensis*, in *Memòries of the Inst. d'Estudis Catalans*, i, fasc. 4, 1928, pp. 59 and 64). See the monograph, *Estudios histórico-arqueológicos sobre Iluro*, by Pellicer y Pagés (Mataró, 1887).

³⁶ Heiss, p. 211; Delgado, iii, pp. 272 f.; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 57; Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, iii, 1883, pp. 67, 71 [not accessible to me]; in Pellicer y Pagés, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-209; and in Pujol, *epigr.*, nos. 114a-e; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 49, no. 44 (with earlier references); Macdonald, *Hunterian Catal.*, iii, p. 624; Vives, ii, pp. 44-7.

is of the type of the rider carrying a lance. References are also given (P. 1, etc.) to the engravings in Pellicer y Pagés.

1. Ace: bare head, symbol boar. (P. 1.)
 Quadrans (or triens): bare head, symbol dolphin; rev. two dolphins opposed. (P. 2.)
 Sextans (or quadrans): obv. as preceding, *rev.* dolphin and : or ••.³⁷ (P. 3.)
2. (All obverses: diademed head.)
 Ace.
 Semis: rev. horse. (P. 4.)
 Quadrans: rev. two dolphins. (P. 5; here Pl. VI, 5.)
 Sextans: dolphin. (P. 12.)
3. (Obv., laureate head; symbol, ear.)
 Ace. (P. 13–15; here Pl. VI, 6.)
 Quadrans: rev. half-Pegasus. (Pl. VI, 8.)
4. (Obv., laureate head.)
 Ace: head to left. (P. 7–10.)
 Semis: rev. horse. (P. 11; here Pl. VI, 7 from Berlin.)
 Quadrans: rev. half-Pegasus. (P. 17.)³⁸

³⁷ Vives gives the mark of value thus :, from a specimen in the Cervera collection. Pujol however gives it as ••, from a specimen in his own collection; so that it must be a quadrans.

³⁸ According to Pujol, the specimen of this in the Torrella Coll., Gerona, shows the mark of value behind the head on the obverse.

5. *Obv.*: head laureate, between 2 dolphins.

Rev.: two dolphins.

Quadrans only. (P. 6; here Pl. VI, 9.)

6. *Obv.*: bare head r.; behind, mark of value ⋮.

Rev.: horse.

Quadrans. P. 16.

The coins, with the exception of the aces of 3 and 4, are all very rare, and most of these rarities are in the inaccessible Cervera Collection in the possession of the Hispanic Society. Newell's fine specimen of the ace (Pl. VI, 6) shews that the wreath of leaves is entwined with a narrow fillet or taenia, but no tie shows, and it is uncertain whether it is of laurel. The two dolphins on the obverse of the Paris quadrans are not very clear; Vives records another specimen in the I.V.D.J.

IESSO

The coins inscribed **IEŠO**, *iešo*³⁹ are reasonably attributed to Iesso, a municipium of the conventus Tarraconensis,⁴⁰ now *Guisona*.

They are all aces, of which Vives describes three issues: (1) as Pl. VII, 1, with *i* and club behind the head; (2) symbol, ear of corn (or branch?) and **Y** (*t*); (3) ear of corn behind and

³⁹ Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 38; Delgado, iii, p. 247 f.; Hübner, no. 20; Vives, ii, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Plin., *N.H.*, iii, 23 (Iesomenses, *v. l.* Gessorienses); Ptol., ii, 6, 72 (Ἰεσσὸς of the Iaccetani).

⌘Λ in front of head (Pl. VII, 2). A variety of the last differs in having XΛ on the obv. (unless the first letter is a misread ⌘); whether the alleged variety (Vives, no. 5, from Pujol, *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, iii, Pl. I, 1) without any letters on the obv. is more than a worn specimen may be doubted.

ORETUM

On an ace (Pl. VII, 3) and semis,⁴¹ with the symbol of a bull behind the head, the letters HΘΒ have been read *ere* by Heiss; who, approved by Delgado (reading *here*, *are* or *eri*) attributes the coins to the people mentioned by Polybius (Αἰρηνόσιοι, iii, 35, 2) as lying between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. Zobel on the other hand, reading *ore*, refers them to the place called *Orretum*, of unknown site in this district, mentioned in an inscription from Aeso (*C.I.L.*, ii, 4465). The more southern place *Oretum* (*C.I.L.*, ii, p. 431) is ruled out by the style of the coins. Zobel's suggestion seems the best. Even if Heiss's transliteration be accepted, the *n* of the name is not likely to have been omitted in an abbreviation; whereas the *t* of *Or(r)etum* might be regarded as belonging not to the root but to the common Iberian termination -tani.

⁴¹ Heiss, p. 146. Delgado, iii, p. 238. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 40; p. 223 (no. 73). Pujol, *Bol.*, iv, 1884, p. 327, *epigr.*, no. 145. Hübner, no. 29. Botet, p. lxxv. Vives, ii, p. 44. Other references in Hübner.

AUSA

Ausa,⁴² a city of the Ausetani (Authetani) mentioned by Ptolemy (ii, 6, 70), is apparently to be identified with the modern *Vich* (anc. *Vicus Ausonensis*, *Vich d'Osona*); and to it are reasonably attributed the coins inscribed **𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱𐌰𐌸𐌸𐌰** (*aušescen*) or **𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱𐌰𐌸𐌰** (*aušescn*). The reading **𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱𐌰𐌸𐌰** given by Lorichs (Pl. XXV, 6) and accepted as correct by Delgado (iii, p. 29, no. 3), Heiss (p. 104, no. 8), Zobel (*M.N.E.*, iv, p. 269, v, p. 34), Hübner (no. 18*b*), and Botet (p. lvi f.), is condemned as a misreading of an ill-preserved specimen by Vives (ii, p. 40).⁴³

The coins are denarii of the usual types, aces, semisses and quadrantes (the last with a half-pegasus). Vives divides the whole into three issues: (1) the denarii (Pl. VII, 5), heavy⁴⁴ ace

⁴² *C.I.L.*, ii, pp. 614, 987.

⁴³ It is to be observed that **𐌸** by itself occurs behind the head on the obverse of the denarius Pl. VII, 5 (cp. Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 68*a*; Vives, no. 1), which reads *aušescen* in full on the reverse. It cannot be a continuation and completion of the reverse legend (as in certain examples alleged by Zobel, *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 249, note 2), because the reverse legend is complete. (Unless of course the coin is a hybrid.) If it is an independent word, then the reading *ausa van* condemned by Vives may perhaps after all be correct.

⁴⁴ He gives no weights. Those of the heavy ace that I have noted are: Br. Mus., 23.07 g.; Thorvaldsen, 22.00 g.; VQR, no. 185, 24.26 g.

(Pl. VII, 4), and semis (Pl. VII, 6) with symbol boar on obv., quadrans with symbol dolphin on obv. (Pl. VII, 7); (2) lighter ace and semis and quadrans as before, but legend usually *aušescn*; (3) ace with symbol palm-branch on obv. (unique ace in the Cervera Coll.). His readings as between the *cn* and *cen* termination are not always borne out by specimens or casts that I have seen.

The coins reading *eušt* and *euštivaicola*, treated by Heiss with the present series, of course form a separate group.

MASONSA

The coins inscribed $\Upsilon\text{P}\text{S}\text{H}\text{M}\text{S}\text{P}$ are connected by their style and by the rudder symbol of the obverse with the coins of Baitulo. Only the ace is known ⁴⁵ (Pl. VII, 8). The specimen published by Delgado (unique in his time) was acquired at Alcañiz. Delgado, who transliterates the name *Masen(e)sa*, suggests a correspondence with *Mequinenza*, but his speculations in this connexion have but little basis.

⁴⁵ Delgado, iii, p. 309. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 38, 227 (nos. 139, 140). Pujol, *Bol.*, iii, 1883, p. 69 (not accessible to me); *epigr.*, no. 139. Hübner, no. 28. Botet, p. lxiv. Vives, ii, p. 81.

VAŠTI

A semis (Pl. VII, 9), inscribed **IMΨ**, is all that is known of this coinage.⁴⁶ Delgado, transliterating *Ist* or *Ies* (rather *Iest*), recalls the city of Istonium in Celtiberia.⁴⁷ The site was identified by Cortés y Lopez⁴⁸ with Huete in the province of Cuenca. But the style of the coin, as Delgado observes, hardly fits that district. Zobel reads *Iast*. Reading Vasti (or Basti) we may recall the Basti, Bastetani of Baetica, and suggest that, as often, the Baetic name was duplicated in the North.

On the obverse of the ace inscribed *Caisesa* (see Vives, ii, p. 144) are the letters **IMM**.⁴⁹ Hübner and others bring this into connexion with the present group; but it would rather seem that just because they are so like each other we should be shy of identifying them.

So far as style is concerned, we should perhaps be most justified in ascribing the coin in question

⁴⁶ Delgado, iii, p. 293; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 57; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 124; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 50, no. 45; Vives, ii, p. 144. The piece illustrated by Vives is that in the Morales Collection at Madrid, formerly in the Medrano Collection; it is almost if not quite unique; forgeries, he says, are common.

⁴⁷ Ptol., ii, 6, 57: from the position in the list, apparently towards the west, near the border of Carpetania.

⁴⁸ *Dicc.*, iii, pp. 96–7.

⁴⁹ Wrongly given as **IMΨ** by Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 125, but rightly under no. 81.

to the district N.E. of the lower course of the Ebro.

ARCEDURGI

The coins bearing the inscription $\text{P} \diamond \text{C} \Delta \text{D} \text{S}$ or $\text{P} \text{S} \text{C} \Delta \text{D} \text{S}$ ⁵⁰ come from Catalonia, and in style, symbols, etc., recall coins of the Ausa-Ilerda district. Heiss and Delgado, basing themselves respectively on the readings Arcberg and Arcorg, attributed the coins to *Castrum Bergium* and *Orgia* (*Urgel*).

The coinage consists of two groups, one with a heave ace (Vives, Pl. XXV, 1), semis and quadrans (here Pl. VIII, 1, 2); the other with ace (Pl. VIII, 3) and semis of the lower standard. The types are as usual: the rider with branch for the ace, horse for the semis, and half pegasus for the quadrans. The symbol behind the head on the ace is usually a boar; on Pl. VIII, 3, which seems otherwise unknown, the place of the boar is taken by a third dolphin.

⁵⁰ The form of the r varies between \diamond and S . Delgado, iii, p. 17 f. Heiss, p. 106. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 250; v, pp. 34, 40 (9), 223 (nos. 87, 88), 229 (no. 150), 233 (no. 195). Pujol, *rev. de cienc. hist.*, ii, 1880-1, p. 550; *epigr.*, nos. 63a-d. Hübner, no. 23. Botet, p. lxix. Vives, ii, p. 48.

CORUCORUATIN

These rare aces (Pl. VIII, 4; Vives, II, p. 81) are, Zobel suggests, to be attributed to Gerunda;⁵¹ for he reads the obverse inscription $\text{X} \diamond \text{S} \blacktriangleright$ $g[e]r[u]dsa$ for *gerundsa*. Hübner (no. 16) reads *krsa*,⁵² but regards the attribution to Gerunda as probable, since the two names begin in the same way, though the terminations differ (-*da* and -*sa*).⁵³ No identification has been suggested for the name on the reverse $\diamond \diamond \uparrow \diamond \diamond \uparrow \blacktriangleright \Psi \blacktriangleright$. The termination -*atin* is found elsewhere.⁵⁴ For Hübner the reverse legend represents probably two place-names.

The first and fourth signs have been usually read as θ ; the equivalent here adopted is CO (according to Gómez-Moreno CU).

The boar-standard is interesting, since an actual bronze standard with the same subject is pre-

⁵¹ *M.N.E.*, v, p. 38, note 2.

⁵² In Gómez-Moreno's system, the first sign is BE.

⁵³ Zobel, in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 259, says that S must sometimes have approached the sound *d* or *ds*, since it is sometimes transmitted by Latin geographers as *d*; he instances $\text{A} \text{M} \text{M} \text{S} \text{S} \text{P}$ *Kaisada*, *Caesada*.

⁵⁴ Hübner, p. 19, nos. 31, 32. Zobel, iv, p. 135, nos. 4 and 5 (two of the legends on Iberian copies of Emporion drachms); also in certain inscriptions (see Schuchardt, p. 41). The alleged *Ccatn* (Hübner, 117) does not exist; see Vives, *Prol.*, p. LXXXV. As to *pricatin* see *Num. Notes and Mon.*, 44 (1930), pp. 16 f.

served in the Madrid Museum.⁵⁵ The boar as a military standard is however more usually associated with Gaul.⁵⁶

The coins are very rare, the two specimens in the British Museum being the only ones in fair condition recorded.⁵⁷

EŮŠTIVAICOLA

The inscription $\text{E}\uparrow\text{M}\text{Y}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{O}\text{L}\text{A}$ or $-\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{O}\text{L}\text{A}$, on some of the series abbreviated to the first four letters, occurs on bronze of the usual four denominations.⁵⁸ The symbols behind the head are: on the ace, a boar or an amphora (Pl. VIII, 6); on the semis, a boar (Pl. VIII, 5, 7); on the quadrans, a dolphin (Pl. VIII, 8); on the sextans, a dolphin. Style and symbols clearly point to the neighbourhood of Ausa and Ilerda; Catalonia is given as the district in which they are found, and the parallel with Arcedurgi is very close in the earlier series. There are coins of both the heavy (semis, Pl. VIII, 5) and the light class.

⁵⁵ Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, ii (1904). p. 205, and Pl. V, no. 6.

⁵⁶ Dar. et Sag., IV, ii, p. 1312.

⁵⁷ Vives, ii, p. 81.

⁵⁸ Delgado, iii, p. 420. Heiss, Pl. V (under Ausa). Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 34; p. 223 (nos. 78–81), 229 (no. 149), 233 (192), 235 (218). Pujol, *R.C.H.*, ii, 1880–1, p. 561; *Bol.*, iv, 1884, p. 329; *epigr.*, 98; Cat. V. Quadras y Ramon, nos. 476–482. Hübner, no. 26. Botet, p. lvii. Vives, ii, pp. 41–43. Other earlier references in Hübner.

These coins have often been confused with those of Ausa. Some have separated the group with the short legend of four letters from that with the full legend; there seems to be no reason for such a separation, or for supposing that the five last letters represent a second name. Any connexion with the name **ΙΝΣΑΗ** (Baitulo) seems unlikely.

CAIO

Semis and quadrans (Pl. IX, 1, 2) are reported of the usual types, with **Α** (*ca*) behind the head, and **ΑΝΗ** (abbreviated to **ΑΝ** on the quadrans) on the reverse.⁵⁹ Pujol reads *cie*, according to Delgado's system, Zobel *caio*, Hübner *caih* and Botet *caie*. The coins seem to come from the neighbourhood of Tarragona. Hübner and Schulten mention, as pointing to an identification, Mons Caius, now Sierra de Moncayo. Botet on the other hand indicates the river *Gaya*, a little to the N. of Tarragona. For other suggestions see Hübner.

⁵⁹ Lorichs, Pl. i, 3. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 38, Pl. iii, 4; p. 231 (no. 178); p. 233 (no. 216). Pujol in *Bol. R. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 326; *Rev. de Ciencias Hist.*, iv, 1886, p. 145; *epigr.*, no. 82. Hübner, no. 24. Botet, p. lxxv. Vives, ii, p. 138. The quadrans of this series is illustrated by Heiss, Pl. XVI, 5 and Delgado, Pl. XCIV, 3 with coins of Caiscada; cp. Hübner, 59e.

OSCONCN

This coinage⁶⁰ is represented by an ace; the rider carries a lance couched. The reading, as Pujol has shown, is certainly **H M \diamond Y \leftarrow N**. But few specimens are known: one in Mr. Seymour de Ricci's collection (here Pl. IX, 3); one in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Pl. IX, 4); another in the Cervera Coll., Hispanic Soc. of New York (Vives, Pl. XXXVI, 1); another formerly in the Arbex collection at Lerida (found near there); another formerly in the Saderra Coll. at Olot. Pujol would attribute the issue to some tribe at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the neighbourhood of the Ilergetes. Zobel attributes them to the province of Castellon, towards Sebelaci or Sepelaci, but gives no reason; his reading certainly bears no resemblance to that name. Pujol⁶¹ possessed an ace of earlier type than that described, on a thicker flan, and with a crescent before the bust;⁶² this was found near Manresa, but seems now not to be traced. Pujol's attribution is thus generally indicated by finds as well as by types.

⁶⁰ Saulcy, pp. 191, no. 147. Heiss, p. 173. Delgado, iii, p. 250. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 56 f., 305. Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, v, 1884, p. 347; *epigr.*, n. 147. Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 50, no. 46. Vives, ii, p. 82. Heiss reads ESERCN, Delgado HASSO-KN, Zobel HSTHGN or HOSTHGN.

⁶¹ *Epigr.*, p. 350. Not noticed by Vives.

⁶² Is it possible that the 'crescent' is really the ornament of the torque, as seen on the Seymour de Ricci specimen?

The usual interpretation of Y as *u*, is, in the light of this and other coins, to be discarded.

If the third sign is CU (as Gómez-Moreno makes it), the chances of the fourth being = *u* are small. To the instances hitherto known⁶³ we may add the denarius **Σ†Η†Υ†ΗΘ**, which, is probably to be read Qolounioco. Accordingly, with Gómez-Moreno, we take Y to be *n*. But if so, it is presumably a different *n* from the M of the genitive suffix <M which occurs in the same word.

CEDAMLI

The inscription, of which the most approved reading seems to be **ЄXΥ†M** (*Cedamli*) occurs on pieces⁶⁴ of very rude workmanship found in Barcelona. The obverse type is a bearded head to r.; behind, the above-mentioned inscription; in front a sign like a double anchor (the ends being rounded on one variety, angular on another). On the reverse is an eight-pointed star or rosette. One of the pieces is described as of silver, weighing

⁶³ Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. xxxvii. According to Zobel, *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 258, Y or V is an *x* approaching the Spanish *j*, Greek *χ*.

⁶⁴ A. Pedrals y Moliné in *Rev. de Ciencias Hist.*, i, 1880, p. 470. Pujol y Camps, *ibid.*, iv, 1886, p. 132; *epigr.*, no. 74. Hübner, no. 25. Botet, p. lxxi. Vives, *Prol.*, p. lxxxv. One of these (bronze) is in the Busquets Collection at Barcelona.

7.50 grm. There are others known in bronze or copper, of which one weighs 20,275 grm., another (damaged) 10,320 grm. Pujol is inclined to think that they are not regular coins but some sort of tessera; there seems to be no doubt of their antiquity. They have, according to Pujol, no resemblance to the ordinary coins of Catalonia. Vives gives various reasons for excluding them altogether from the body of his work; but his argument that they cannot be tesserae because we only know tesserae of lead will of course not bear examination.

REGIO ILERDENSIS

ILERGETES

The district of the Ilergetes or Ilergetae,¹ according to Ptolemy, contained the following inland towns: Bergusia, Celsa, Bergidum, Eraga, Succosa, Osca, Burtina, Gallica Flavia, Orgia,

¹ 'Ιλεργήτες: Ptol., ii, 6, 68; 'Ιλεργέται: Strabo, iii, 4, 10, 161; 'Ιλεργήται: Polyb., iii, 33, 15; x, 18, 7; 'Ιλουργήται: Polyb., iii, 35, 2. In Latin authors usually *Ilergetes*; e.g. Plin., iii, 21: *regio Ilergetum, oppidum Subur, flumen Rubricatum, a quo Laetani et Indigetes*. Whether the 'Ιλαραυγάται (? 'Ιλαρδυγάται, Müller) of Hecataeus (fr. 14, *ap. Steph. Byz.*), who equates them with the 'Ιβηρες and mentions also an 'Ιλαραυγάτης ποταμός, are the same, is not clear. Hübner connects the Ilaraugatai rather with Ilercavonia.

Ilerda. According to Livy (xxi, 61.6) their chief place was *Atanagrum*; it was taken by Scipio, and cannot be traced, though it may have been identical with Ilerda.

There are three groups of coins which have to be considered in connexion with Ilerda and the Ilergetes. They are inscribed:²

(a) $\text{M}\Lambda\text{P}\text{O}\text{X}$.

(b) $\text{M}\Lambda\text{P}\text{O}\text{X}\text{M}\text{P}\Lambda\text{M}\text{Q}\text{I}\text{M}$.

(c) $\text{M}\Lambda\text{P}\text{O}\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}$ or $\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}$. Sometimes abbreviated by the omission of the last two signs, so as to read *iltrces* or *iltrcs*.

Vives distinguishes, as from a different mint (11), the coins reading *iltrc(e)s* from those reading *iltrc(e)sc(e)n*, a subtlety which need only be mentioned.

The first corresponds to the Latin *Ilerda*, as is

² For those with the inscription (a), see Heiss, pp. 133 ff.; Delgado, iii, 275–9; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 134, Pl. VII, 5; v, p. 44, Pl. III, 5–11, pp. 240–5, nos. 229–32, 248–57, 272–4, 277–80; Pujol, in *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 160 f., and *epigr.*, nos. 54, 116; Hübner, no. 30 (with earlier references); Botet y Sisó, p. lxvii; Vives, ii, pp. 54 ff.

(b) Heiss, p. 140; Delgado, iii, 279–281; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, Pl. iv, 24, v, pp. 44–6, p. 241, nos. 226–8; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 117, f–h; Hübner, no. 30b (with earlier references); Botet y Sisó, p. lxviii; Vives, II, p. 53.

(c) Heiss, pp. 138–9; Delgado, iii, 281–283; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 38, Pl. III, 1, 2; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 117 a–c; Hübner, no. 31 (with earlier references, of which however that to Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 208 is wrong); Botet y Sisó, p. lxiii; Vives, ii, p. 51.

certain from the two groups of coins of the wolf-series with the inscriptions first in Iberian, later in Latin.³ The third legend stands to *Ilergetes* exactly as *Untcescen* stands to *Indigetes*. It is the genitive plural (Schuchardt, p. 31).

As to the second legend, the second portion of the name is probably some qualifying epithet, topographical or other. According to the now discredited 'alliance' theory, the inscription would represent an alliance between Ilerda and a place called Šalirvan.⁴ It seems preferable, assuming that this second name is a geographical name, to regard it as qualifying the first. We know that there was more than one Ilerda; Avienus (475) mentions one between C. Nao and Hemeroscopium. One of these may well have been described as Ilerda-Šalirvan, to distinguish it from the other. Those who regard the second element as the name of an independent place, associate it with the *Salauris* mentioned by Avienus (v. 513), on the coast between Barcelona and the Ebro, which may be identified with the present Cape Salou.⁵ But it is further to be

³ On the *t* in *Iltrda*, etc. (which is paralleled by the *t* in *Iliturgi* beside *Ἰλουργεία*, the *d* in *Ilduro* beside *Iluro*) see Schuchardt, *Iber. Dekl.*, p. 62. *Ili* or *ilit* means simply 'city' or 'town'; *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ The form *šalircn* accepted by Hübner (30 b : c) and Schuchardt (*Iber. Dekl.*, p. 37) depends only on Lorichs and is a misreading.

⁵ Cp. Schulten in *R.E.*, s.v. *Salauris*.

noted that this same inscription, more or less abbreviated,⁶ is read on Iberian imitations of the Emporitan silver drachms, on which a wolf appears as symbol underneath the Pegasus. Since a wolf appears as the type of the Ibero-Roman Ilerda, it follows that this Ilerda-Šalirvan was identical with that well known place. If so, it cannot be Salauris, which was on the coast.

Were the bronze coins of the ordinary Ibero-Roman types, reading *Iltrda*, struck at this Ilerda? Judging by their style, there is nothing to prevent our associating them with the *Iltrda-Šalirvan* denarii. The absence of the wolf on both denarii and bronze is to be explained by the desire for uniformity in the issues of these Iberian towns which is evident, whether it was inspired by orders from Rome or not. The coins with wolf as reverse type are of much worse style. We must suppose that they were struck after the cessation of the horseman series, and some time before the foundation of the *municipium*. The series of Emporiae shews to what a low level the skill of the die-engravers of these parts fell in the last half-century or so of the Republic.

It is interesting to note that while there is no

⁶ Some specimens, as Delgado, no. 136; Hübner, 521, are said to read simply *iltrda*, and to have no trace of the second name. They may be defective specimens. If they are complete, they prove distinctly that *iltrda* and *iltrda šalirvan* were one and the same place.

attempt to indicate the sex of the wolf on the coins with the Iberian inscription or even on the earlier Latin coins, those with the title *municipium* distinctly make it female. The Iberian wolf becomes the she-wolf of Rome.

Where the coins of the Ilergetes were issued, must remain uncertain. Of the places in their district, none is more likely than Ilerda itself, since Atanagrum seems to have been destroyed. There is nothing improbable in the hypothesis that the same mint produced local coins for Ilerda and regional coins for the tribe.

Among the coins issued by Ilerda in imitation of the currency of other places must, if they are genuine, be included the obols of Massaliote types (male head and wheel), in which the lower part of the wheel is occupied by a wolf (?). On one of these the inscription *iltrda* occupies the quarter which should have the letter **M**.⁸ On another variety, where there is no wolf (?) we find *iltrda*, **M**, **A** and a crescent in the four quarters.⁹ Vives¹⁰ subjects all the varieties to careful criticism, and concludes that those which bear the Iberian inscription are forgeries, while the others have no connexion with Ilerda. The only examples of the inscribed obols known to me are those in the Paris and Vidal Quadras y Ramon

⁸ V.Q.R., no. 323, ex Heiss, Pl. IX, Ilerda, 3.

⁹ Heiss, Pl. IX, Ilerda, 2.


¹⁰ I, pp. 14-16.

collections. After careful examination of them, I see no reason to doubt them, and no difficulty in supposing that the people of Ilerda should have imitated the Massaliote obols as they did the Emporitan drachms.



The coins inscribed Ilerda-Šalirvan consist, as already stated, of imitations of Emporitan drachms (Pl. IX, 7), and of later denarii (Pl. IX, 8) and quinarii (Pl. IX, 9) of the period of the Roman province. The style of these denarii is, though formal, better than that of the typical Ibero-Roman denarii of Osca and such places. A specimen, very much worn, was in Dr. Hildburgh's Córdoba find (buried about 105 B.C.). We may regard these denarii as having been issued in the first half of the second century.

The earliest ¹¹ of the bronze coins of the ordinary Ibero-Roman types, inscribed *iltrda*, may be contemporary with these denarii. They are aces (Pl. IX, 10), with the semis, quadrans and sextans, of heavy weight (supposed to correspond to the uncial standard). Vives distinguishes three other issues of the same types, but of lower weight, the so-called semuncial (Pl. IX, 11). In view of his omission to give weights, and the indifferent quality of his illustrations, it is not possible to

¹¹ Judging by style, and not merely by weight, which is misleading in Spain, since the heaviest groups are not necessarily the earliest. The heaviest recorded ace of Ilerda is one of 28 g. 33 in the British Museum; Heiss, Pl. IX, 4, gives one of 28 g. 20; Berlin has one of 26 g. 25.

control his distinction between his second and third series.¹² The difficulty is increased by the fact that the type of the horse seems to be used for semis (Pl. IX, 12), quadrans and sextans alike, so that it is only from style that we can guess whether a coin is a quadrans of a heavy or a semis of a light series: according to Vives, the semis is distinguished by a crescent, the quadrans by a star; the sextans has either two pellets, or the letter .

In the wolf-series with Iberian inscriptions (Pl. X, 1-3), Vives distinguishes many issues of semisses and quadrantes. The supposed value-marks however fail to work, for he describes some quadrantes with a star, others with a crescent, another with both, as well as a semis with crescent on both sides. The Latin coins are all of one denomination, supposed to be a semis.

Pujol¹³ publishes a wolf-coin on which he discerns two pellets (the sextans mark) and, below, the signs , which we have found on coins of Emporiae. The illustration however, suggests that the pellets are really the balls at the end of a crescent ornament; and the  mark is very obscure.

The coins with the genitive of the tribal name (*Iltrc(e)sc(e)n*, sometimes abbreviated to *Iltrc(e)s*),

¹² On his third issue the head on the obverse has the neck draped with a mantle.

¹³ *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 161, no. 30.

are usually distinguished by the symbol of a palm-branch (or ear of corn?) behind the head on all denominations, except the quadrans, which has three pellets. The reverse types of the denomination are the rider carrying a branch for the ace, horse with flying rein for the semis (Pl. X, 6), and half-pegasus for the quadrans, thus generally conforming to the Tarraco system. There is a heavy ¹⁴ and a light series. Among unusual issues are the ace in the Cervera collection, with $\Psi(t)$ behind the head,¹⁵ and the ace in the British Museum, here Pl. X, 7, of wild style, with dolphins round the head.

EŠO

Aces (Pl. X, 8) inscribed $\mathbf{\Psi MH}$ (Vives, ii, p. 82, mint no. 23; Hübner, no. 17) are attributed to Aeso by Zobel (*M.N.E.*, v, p. 36 and p. 40, n. 10). *Isona*, which now represents that place,¹⁶ lies north of Iesso (*Guisona*), between the upper waters of the *Segre* (Sicoris) and the *Noguera*.¹⁷ Delgado does

¹⁴ To the weights of the two aces in the British Museum (17 g. 50, 17 g. 45) add that of the Berlin specimen (Pl. X, 5), 16.68 g.; the Berlin semis of the same series weighs 6.97 g.

¹⁵ Vives, Pl. XXVI, 8.

¹⁶ *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 594.

¹⁷ C. Müller emended $\Lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$, which Ptolemy, ii, 6, 72, gives as a city of the Iaccetani, to $\Lambda\zeta\sigma\omega$; this seems the only reason for regarding Aeso as belonging to that tribe,

not distinguish these coins from the aces inscribed **ΙΒΜΗ** (Iesso, see above, p. 55). Botet (p. lxix) points out that their types connect the coins with the district of Ilerda rather than with that of Tarraco, and as communication takes place down the river-valleys rather than across watersheds, it is reasonable to group the coins of Ešo with those of Ilerda.

DERTOSA-ILERCAVONIA

The Ilercavones¹⁸ were a tribe on the lower Ebro. They must be distinguished from the Ilergetai or Ilergetes of the Ilerda district. The town which preserved their name in Roman times, Dertosa Ilercavonia,¹⁹ was situated at the mouth of the river, on its left bank, where the main road crossed it (now Tortosa). The name Hibera, which it also bore, survived into Roman times, when its full title was Municipium Hibera Iulia Dertosa Ilercavonia. When Strabo calls it

which actually lay much further to the West. Schulten, however, the last to give an opinion on the reading (*Phil. Woch.*, 1927, 1583), still speaks of Aeso as of the Iaccetani.

¹⁸ *Illurgavonenses*, Caes., *bell. civ.*, I, 60; *Ilurcaones*, Liv. frg. 1, 91; *Ilergavonenses*, Liv., XXII, 21, 6; *Ilergaones*, Plin., III, 21; *Ἰλερκάονες*, Ptol., II, 6, 16. The spelling on the coins is consistently *Ilercavonia*.

¹⁹ Hübner, *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 535; *M.L.I.*, p. 38; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.vv. *Dertosa* and *Ilercavones*.

a κατοικία (III, 195), this must not be taken strictly in the sense of colony.²⁰

Its foundation as a municipium must date from Julius Caesar; that it was important from a maritime point of view is proved by the coins, which show two kinds of galley, a large one with an admiral's standard on the poop, and a light one—representing perhaps the up-river traffic.²¹

The coins²² are all of imperial date (Pl. XI, 1–3), unless we accept the suggestion of Zobel,²³ in itself attractive, that the coins inscribed *Seθiscen* (below, p. 103) were issued there. As Vives remarks, the coins without imperial portraits are so like those with the head of Tiberius, that it is probable that they were struck not long before the end of the reign of Augustus.

²⁰ The coins which seem to support the view that it was a colony are all wrongly read or attributed. For such coins (in Hübner, 31*a, c, d, e*) see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 252 (Parium ?); p. 166 (Dium); p. 162 (Dyme). This destroys the basis of arguments such as those of Hübner and of Albertini, *Les Divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, 1923, p. 63. If Dertosa was ever a colony, it was after it had ceased to issue coins.

²¹ The ship without any sail mentioned by Vives does not exist.

²² Heiss, pp. 128 ff.; Delgado, iii, pp. 258 ff.; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, no. 31*a* (with earlier references); Vives, iv, pp. 17 f.

²³ In *M.N.E.*, v, p. 48.

ALAVONA

To this place on the Ebro,²⁴ mentioned by Ptolemy as 'Αλαυῶνα of the Vascones and by the Antonine *Itinerary* as *Allobone* on the road from Turiaso to Caesaraugusta, and identified with the modern *Alagón*, near the point where the Jalón debouches, it is reasonable, with Delgado, to attribute the aces reading $\text{P}\text{P}\text{P}\text{P}\text{M}$ (*alaun*)²⁵ (Pl. XI, 4).










CELSA

Celsa²⁶ (represented by scanty remains at *Jelsa* near Velilla on the Ebro) was of Iberian origin, and the attribution of coins reading *celse* ($\text{C}\text{A}\text{S}\text{E}$) or *clse* to what became the Roman colony of Celsa is proved by bilinguals (Pl. XII, 5). As at Cese-Tarraco, we find three forms of the initial,

²⁴ Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v. *Alabanenses*. Schulten's attribution to *Alonis* on the coast N. of Alicante (*Die Etrusker in Spanien* in *Klio*, 23, 1930, p. 379) does not suit the style of the coins.


²⁵ Heiss, p. 163; Delgado, iii, p. 12; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 46; p. 240, no. 246; Pujol in *R.C.H.*, ii, 1880/81, p. 547; *epigr.*, no. 59 a-c; Hübner, no. 32; Vives, ii, p. 63.

²⁶ Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v.; *C.I.L.*, ii, 409, 940. For the coins, see Heiss, pp. 140 ff.; Delgado, iii, pp. 87 ff.; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 46, 49, pp. 241, 243, nos. 238-43, 264-68, 27; Pujol in *R.C.H.*, iv, 1886, pp. 140 ff.; *epigr.*, no. 76; Hübner, nos. 33, 33a (with earlier references); Vives, ii, pp. 150 ff.; iv, pp. 102 ff.

 or  (Pl. XI, 5, 6),²⁷  (Pl. XI, 7) and , the former two being monograms of *c* and *e*. Further, the second sign sometimes takes the form ,  or , which appear to be attempts at a monogram of *e* and *l*. The forms  and  which are given by some writers seem to require verification. On one coin (Vives, Pl. LXI, 1) the *s* is retrograde.

The issues with the initial monogram of *ce* (Pl. XI, 5, 6) seem to be the earliest, if we follow the clue given by the series of Tarraco; and this arrangement seems to be confirmed by the style of the coins, so far as the few specimens allow us to judge. There are a number of coins of the heavy series, *i.e.* above the weight of the 'semuncial' ace of 13.64 gm. (Pl. XII, 1), but no very heavy pieces; and it is to be remarked that none of the coins of the class which, as just mentioned, seems to be the earlier, are heavy.²⁸

The denominations are from ace to triens. The usual Iberian head appears on the obverses of nearly all; but on one issue, which Vives puts earliest of all those reading *clse*, the head is laureate (Pl. XI, 8). Its style does not seem to me to be early; and it is probably an exceptional issue, commemorating some victory and inter-

²⁷ Vives gives ; his illustrations do not allow us to decide whether he is correct.

²⁸ The ace of 13.20 gm., described as fairly well preserved (it is really heavily corroded), and not of the earliest class, but reading *clse*, which was found in Camp III at Renieblas (Haeberlin, p. 37, no. 132), is really an ace of Cese-Tarraco.

rupting the ordinary series. The semis of one issue (Pl. XII, 3) has a head of Mercury. On the ace of the earliest issues the horseman carries a spear (Pl. XI, 5); the type of the first semis (Pl. XI, 6) is a Pegasus; in the second and later issues the semis bears the usual horse (Pl. XII, 2, 3); on its first appearance, the horse is accompanied by a star, on later coins by the inverted crescent. The type of the triens is the half-Pegasus, with the mark of four pellets²⁹ (Pl. XII, 4).

The weight of the coins, as in other mints, degenerates; but with the advent of the bilinguals, probably not long before the middle of the first century, there is an improvement in the weight, though hardly in the style. The neck of the bust appears to be bare, yet the turn up of the point of the bust on such a coin as Pl. XII, 5, is obviously the remains of the fold of drapery seen on earlier coins (cp. Pl. XII, 1).

It is generally assumed that Celsa, becoming a Roman colony, used for a time the name *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida*; and it is supposed that the colony was founded by Julius Caesar and Lepidus, hence its names. Lepidus had Citerior as proconsul for the year 48, and was acclaimed imperator and triumphed in 47 on the pretext that

²⁹ One of the four is nearly off the flan on the Paris coin which Vives describes as having only three; that is presumably why he calls this coin a quadrans (and also all its successors, though they shew all four pellets).

he had been engaged in the dispute in Ulterior between Q. Cassius Longinus and M. Marcellus. For 44 B.C. he was again given the governorship of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, but did not go there until some time after the murder of Caesar. The foundation of the colony is more likely to belong to the time of his first than his second governorship.

That the colony should have borne the name of Lepidus for a short time, and discarded it when his memory was no longer worth preserving (*i.e.* at any time after his removal from Spain after the battle of Philippi, 42 B.C.), is in no way surprising. The attribution of the coins inscribed COL.VIC.IVL.LEP. to Celsa is fairly made out by Lorichs and Grotefend.³⁰ The obverse types of Minerva (or Roma) and Victory are suitable to a colony founded in commemoration of a victory, real or alleged.³¹

³⁰ In Grote's *Blätter für Münzkunde*, iv, 1844, pp. 2–10. They disposed of the old attributions to Leptis. Vives (iv, p. 102) with ill-disguised glee stresses the difficulty of the identification of Lepida with Celsa (in a case where we have historical data and perfectly legible Latin inscriptions) as a lesson to "iberists." He speaks of a radical difference between the coins of the two series in respect of types and, above all, of art. But the types are not wholly different: the bull is common to both series, and the Victory and Minerva are naturally displaced by Augustus. As to difference in "art," it is not more than might be expected in a quarter of a century.

³¹ Vives (iv, pp. 102 f.) suggests models in various Roman

Types out of the common are: Ram standing to r., on a semis (Pl. XII, 9). Head of Sun facing, on the same semis (*ibid.*). Crescent on a quadrans (Pl. XII, 10). Boar to r., on the same quadrans (*ibid.*).

Of the magistrates—one or two of whom are also named on coins of Col. Victrix Iulia Celsa, thus affording another argument for the view that Lepida and Celsa are the same place—all are represented in the British Museum except the aediles L. CAL. and SEX. NIG., who struck a semis and quadrans (Pl. XII, 9, 10); and Sextus (Pompeius) Niger again reappears on the coins inscribed with the name of Celsa, striking a semis and quadrans under Augustus.³²

coins for the various types. If it is necessary to look for these, and the local authorities cannot be credited with the small measure of originality required for their invention, the Minerva type may be referred to the denarius of Cn. Pompeius and M. Pobjcius (Grueber, ii, p. 364, no. 72, Pl. CI, 1) which was actually struck in Spain *circa* 46–44 B.C.; and the head on Pl. XII, 6, may well owe something to the Venus of Caesar's own Spanish coins (*ibid.*, Pl. CI, nos. 9–10). As to the head of Victory, Vives finds the model for it on denarii of T. Carisius (about 45 B.C., according to Grueber, i, pp. 527 ff., but struck in Rome). As a matter of fact, however, the rather unusual treatment of the bust points to the Victory on the coins of Plancus (*ibid.*, Pl. LIII, 13, 14) as the nearest parallel on Roman coins. These coins were struck in 45 B.C., and the Victory commemorates Caesar's successes in Spain.

³² Pl. XII, 10, of Sextus Niger is the quadrans which Vives found illegible.

These magistrates—other than the aediles, who strike the smaller denominations—are called PR. IIVIR, in three of the four colleges, and PR. QVIN in the fourth. These abbreviations have been much discussed.³³ That PR stands for *Praefectus* there can be little doubt. The magistrates in the first three colleges are the substitutes for the *duoviri iure dicundo*, in the fourth college for the actual *duoviri quinquennales* who were appointed for the quinquennial census; in both cases substitutes appear to have been necessary because the persons actually appointed did not function.³⁴ That the names of these persons should not be mentioned is certainly curious; but the alternative is to adopt an interpretation of

³³ Eckhel, *Doctr.*, iv, pp. 476 ff.; Lorichs and Grotefend, *loc. cit.*; Lenormant, *La Monn. dans l'Antiquité*, iii, pp. 227–8. On the general question of these magistrates in the colonies, see Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, 1900, pp. 260 ff. (references to earlier literature).

³⁴ Lenormant, *loc. cit.*, says that “common sense rejects the hypothesis that in four colleges corresponding precisely to the four years that the city kept the name inscribed on these coins, the eight magistrates . . . were all obliged to find *praefecti* to take their places.” But if the colony made a practice of selecting distinguished persons as *duoviri*—such as Lepidus himself, for instance—there is nothing contrary to common sense in the hypothesis. Incidentally, Lenormant’s assumption that the city kept the name for four years only is unwarranted. We know of only four colleges, but others doubtless functioned in years when no coins were needed, so that their names have not survived.

PR as *praetor* or *prima*, for which there seems to be nothing to be said.

The letter R in a circle in the countermark on certain coins³⁵ is explained by Lorichs (*loc. cit.*, p. 6) as including P, and therefore the equivalent of PR. PR itself occurs on coins with the name of Celsa.³⁶ Another countermark is the common one of the eagle's head.³⁷

It has been noticed that the magistrate L. Sura marks the *u* in his name with a comma-shaped accent, like that found over the *u* in *Musa* on the denarii of Pomponius Musa. This is the *apex* used to mark vowels long by nature, found in Latin inscriptions from the time of Sulla to the second century of our era.³⁸

We now come to the coins of Col. Victrix Iulia Celsa, which are of Augustus and Tiberius. All the colleges of duoviri and aediles who struck the coins are represented in the British Museum.³⁹ They are the following, all the pairs being duoviri, except the last who are aediles:

³⁵ It occurs on coins of both Lepida and Celsa series: cp. Heiss, Pl. xi, nos. 12, 15, 16, 18; xii, 20.

³⁶ E.g., Heiss, Pl. xii, 21.

³⁷ Heiss, Pl. xi, 11.

³⁸ Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.*, 1898, pp. 27–8.

³⁹ The attribution to Celsa of the coin of Sex. Cethegus and Q. Pomp. Secundinus (Delgado, no. 40; Heiss, no. 18 bis) is doubtful.

Augustus Divi f.:

L. Pompe(ius) Bucco, L. Corne(lius) Fronto
L. Corn(elius) Terrenus, M. Iuni(us) Hispanus
L. Sura, L. Bucco

L. Bagg(ius), M'Flavius Festus

L. Aufidius Pansa, Sex. Pomp(eius) Niger

Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus Cos. XII (B.C. 5–3):

Cn. Domiti(us), C. Pompeius.

Tiberius: Bagg(ius) Fronto, Cn. Bucco iterum

Vetilius Bucco, C. Fufius.

The name BAGGIVS is to be noted, in correction of BACCIVS, as it has always hitherto been read.⁴⁰

Besides the usual denominations *ace*, *semis* and *quadrans*, the college of L. Pompeius Bucco and L. Cornelius Fronto issued a heavy coin (35 mm., wt. 30 gr. 25) which is either a *dupondius* or *sestertius*. The unique Paris specimen (Mionnet, I, 30, 274) is unfortunately too poor to be worth illustrating.

A sort of privy-marks, to distinguish issues, seems to have prevailed here; pellets (often hard to distinguish from mere flaws) being placed in the field, usually on the reverse (*e.g.* Pl. XIII, 4) but sometimes on the obverse. The use seems to have been far from systematic.

Of countermarks, we may notice the PR and 'R

⁴⁰ Vives' reading RVFIO for the aedile's name on his no. 21 should be FVFIO.

in circle already mentioned; the common D D, **A**, **✓** (?) (Delg., cxix, 38), leaf (*ibid.*, 30), eagle's head (*ibid.*, 35), TV (*ibid.*, 31, for Turiaso?), GR (Pl. XIII, 7, for Graccurreis?).

It has been asserted that there is an identity of obverse die between the aces of L. Baggus, M' Festus and certain aces of C. Varius Rufus and Sex. Iulius Pollio generally attributed to Carthago Nova. The statement was first made by Lorichs,⁴¹ who wished accordingly to attribute the latter coins also to Celsa. The two dies are certainly very much alike, but I have been unable to find the exact identity which Lorichs professes to have observed.

OCTOGESA OR OTOGESA

Octogesa (vv. ll., *Otogesa*, *Otogensa*, *Otogesma*) on the Hiberus is mentioned by Caesar in the Civil War.⁴² The attribution of the coins reading **HWMK**, i.e. *htkšcn* (Hübner) or *hotgešcn* (Zobel) or *otokescn*, to this place was suggested by Zobel.⁴³ The last two signs are clearly the termi-

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴² *Bell. Civ.*, i, 61, 68, 70. Hübner, *M.L.I.*, no. 34, thinks the *c* may have found its way into the reading by false suggestion of the numeral *octo*.

⁴³ For other readings, see Delgado, iii, p. 242; Heiss, p. 292; Hübner, no. 34. Schulten accepts the attribution to Otogesa on the Sicoris.

nation (genitive plural ⁴⁴) which is characteristic of coins of the Indiketai, Ausetani, Laetani and others in the N.E. district; on the other hand the obverse type with its three dolphins points to the Ilerda-Celsa district. These indications are not out of keeping with a site on the Ebro near the confluence with the Sicoris, such as is proposed by Cortés ⁴⁵ at Mequinenza. The form for *t* recurs on the coins which are attributed to Nertobriga ⁴⁶ near Bilbilis, and also on those which read *vaitolo* (above, p. 51). Gómez-Moreno gives this form the value *to*, which suits all cases.

On the whole, the coins seem more likely to belong to a place some way up the Ebro valley, than to a maritime place, such as Otobesa of the Edetani seems to have been.⁴⁷ Gómez-Moreno's system of transliteration, however, in which the third sign is equated to BE, would if adopted definitely fix the coins to Otobesa.

The ace, similar to the one here illustrated (Pl. XIII, 10), is the only denomination known.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Schuchardt, *Iber. Deklin.*, p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Diccionario*, iii, p. 241.

⁴⁶ The alleged instance on imitations of Emporiae cannot be adduced, because the inscription in question is blundered.

⁴⁷ *C.I.L.*, ii, 3794.

⁴⁸ Delgado, Pl. CXLIV; Vives, ii, p. 147, Pl. LX, 1.

SALDVVIA-CAESARAVGVSTA

Salduvia, Saldubia, Salduba or Salluia ⁴⁹ was the name of the town on the Hiberus in the *regio Sedetania*, where Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) was founded. Zobel's attribution thereto of the coins which read **SPΛΛVΒ** (*salduie*),⁵⁰ and are of the fabric and style of the region, seems entirely reasonable. Heiss's attribution to the city of the Ligurian-Celtic Salluvi, accepted by Delgado, is on the other hand quite improbable.

The coins are aces (Pl. XIV, 1) and semisses of the lighter weight, of the usual types.⁵¹

Between this Iberian coinage and that of the Roman colony comes the small group of coins ⁵² struck by Sextus Pompeius when after Munda he rallied against Caesar on the Ebro; very rude

⁴⁹ Plin., *N.H.*, III, 24. The *turma salluitana* of the decree of Ascoli, *Bull. com.*, 1909, 169, took its name from this place. Schulten in *R.E.*, s.v. Salduvia and in *Phil. Woch.*, 1927, 1584.

⁵⁰ Heiss, pp. 148 f.; Delgado, III, pp. 365 f.; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 47, no. 4; Hübner, no. 35 (with other references); Vives, ii, pp. 64-5. Gómez-Moreno, *Sobre los iberos* etc., in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, 486, is wrong in transcribing *saluie*. The form in the Ascoli decree shows the melting of the dental after *l*, as in *Iltrda-Ilerda*.

⁵¹ According to Vives, some aces shew the head without drapery on the neck; perhaps these are worn or ill-struck specimens, though there are examples at Berlin and Copenhagen which lend some colour to his statement.

⁵² Lafranchi's attribution to Salduvia (*Riv. Ital.*, XXV, 1912, pp. 511-516) is convincing.

denarii with SAL or SA beneath the head on the obverse,⁵³ and Pietas on the reverse. There are other coins of the same style and types without the mint-mark. They are clearly a Roman military issue, and fall outside the regular Iberian series.⁵⁴

The colony⁵⁵ was founded by Augustus. The coins prove that veterans of three legions were settled here (iv Macedonica, vi Victrix and x Gemina); of these only the two latter were represented at the original foundation, according to Ritterling. Roman remains on the site are scanty.⁵⁶

The following is an attempt at the classification of the coinage.⁵⁷ It can only be partly chronological, since many of the coins give the Emperors' names in a form (such as *Augustus Divi f.*) which allows of no precise dating. The type of the ace is usually the priest ploughing with a yoke of

⁵³ One of these heads is evidently meant for Pompeius Magnus; the other, whatever it may be meant for, is not the Iberian head as Laffranchi maintains.

⁵⁴ See Grueber, B.M.C., *Rom. Rep.*, ii, pp. 370 f.

⁵⁵ *Colonia immunis*, Plin., *loc. cit.*, Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v., *Caesaraugusta*. Hübner dates the foundation to the time following the Cantabrian campaign (19 B.C.); Ritterling, *R.E.*, XII, i, 1240, s.v. Legio, supposes it to be one of Augustus's Spanish colonies mentioned by Dio (liv., 23) in 15 B.C.

⁵⁶ *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 406.

⁵⁷ Heiss, pp. 197 ff. Delgado, iii, pp. 42 ff. Hübner, no. 35a (with earlier references). Vives, iv, pp. 71 ff.

oxen; when it is something else, it is described below.

AUGUSTUS

A. Augustus Divi f.

1. Q. Lutatio, M. Fabio, IIviris.
Aces with head of Augustus laureate or bare (Pl. XIV, 2; Vives, 1).
2. C. Alsano, T. Cervio, IIviris.
Aces with head of Augustus laureate or bare (Pl. XIV, 3; Vives, 3–5).
3. C. Sabino, P. Varo, IIviris.
Unique ace with the usual types (laureate head) illustrated by Delgado, Pl. XCV, 4, from the Coll. Calvo Casini (Vives, no. 6).
4. L. Cassio, C. Valerio Fen., IIviris.
Ace (laureate head); semis (vexillum); quadrans (inscr. in wreath). Pl. XIV, 4. Vives, nos. 7–11. Vives expands the second name as *Fendio*, for which there seems to be no authority. Some cognomen like *Fenestella* is possible.
5. M' Kaninio iterum, L. Titio, IIviris.
Ace (laureate head; Pl. XIV, 5); semis (vexillum); quadrans (inscr. in wreath). Vives, nos. 12–15.⁵⁸ The extraordinary reading *Caesar Augu. f.* on the semis and

⁵⁸ Vives wrongly calls his no. 15 semis. He describes the head as bare, whereas it is laureate, and gives the reading as *Augustus imp.* whereas it is as on the semis.

quadrans is doubtless a mistake of the engraver.

B. Imp. Augustus XIV or Augustus Divi f. The former indicates the period 8–1 B.C.

6. M. Porcio, Cn. Fad[io], Ilviris.
Ace, semis (Pl. XIV, 6) and quadrans (Pl. XIV, 7) (Vives, nos. 18–20).

C. Augustus Divi f. Cos. XI Des. XII Pon. Max.
6 B.C. (second half of year).

7. C. Alliaro, T. Verrio, Ilviris.
Ace (Pl. XIV, 8; Vives, nos. 16, 17).

D. Imp. Augustus Trib. Potes. XX.
4–3 B.C.

8. Cn. Dom[itio] Ampiano, C. Vet[tio?] Lancia[no?], Ilviris.

Dupondius or sestertius (figures of Augustus between C. Caesar and L. Caesar as consul designate; rev. vexillum between two standards: Pl. XIV, 9; Vives, no. 21, Pl. CXLVIII, 11), ace, and semis (vexillum) Pl. XIV, 10; Vives, nos. 22, 23. L. Caesar was consul designate in his fifteenth year, summer 751 = 3 B.C. *Mon. Anc.*, 2, 4689 (see Mommsen, *Res gest. divi Aug.*, II, 46; *C.I.L.*, III, 323, VI, 900); Augustus held the Tribunician power from 4–3 B.C.

The name of the first duovir is so much

abbreviated that we cannot be certain of either his gentile name (Vettius? Veturius?) or of his cognomen (Lancianus?). Vives' reading VETIA in his no. 22 should be VET.LA.; and his LANTIA has no authority.

E. Augustus; rev. Ti. Caesar Augusti f.

9. No magistrates' names. Semis (Pl. XIV, 11; Vives, nos. 30, 31). May have been issued at any time between the adoption of Tiberius and the death of Augustus (A.D. 4-14).

F. Augustus Divi f.

10. Tib. Clodio Flavo, praefecto Germanici, L. Iuventio Luperco Ilviro. Probably soon after A.D. 4, the date of the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius. Dupondius or sestertius (vexillum of legio IV, signa of legg. VI and X; *rev.* priest ploughing; Pl. XV, 1⁵⁹); ace (*rev.* bull standing); semis (*rev.* inscription only). Vives, nos. 24-28.

G. Augustus.

11. No magistrates' names. Quadrans with *rev.* C.C.A. in wreath. Date quite uncertain. Vives, no. 29.

⁵⁹ The specimen illustrated is a cast from a lost original; it shows the details better than anything else available.

COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR 91

TIBERIUS

II. Ti. Caesar Divi Augusti f. Augustus.

12. No magistrates' names. Livia seated. Probably about A.D. 15-16 (see Mattingly, *B.M.C., Roman Imp.*, I, p. 128, no. 65). Ace: Pl. XV, 2; Vives, no. 59.
13. No magistrates' names.
Ace: *rev.* priest ploughing or bull standing. Pl. XV, 3, 4; Vives, 32-36.
14. T. Caecilio Lepido, C. Aufidio Gemello, IIviris. Dupondius (*rev.* inscription only; Pl. XV, 5); ace (*rev.* bull standing). Vives, nos. 60-62.
15. Clemens, Lucretius, IIviri.
Semis (*rev.* legionary eagle between two signa; Pl. XV, 6); quadrans (*rev.* vexillum; Pl. XV, 7). Vives, nos. 40-42.
16. Sex. Aebutius, L. Lucretius IIviri.
Semis (*rev.* as on no. 15). Pl. XV, 8; Vives, nos. 38, 39.
17. Lupo IIviro, Fulviano praefecto.
Ace (*rev.* priest ploughing, or bull standing). Pl. XV, 9. Vives, nos. 51, 52. The person for whom Fulvianus was praefectus is not mentioned. In this and similar cases (cp. the coins of Celsa, p. 81) may we assume that the person was the head of the state himself?
18. Drusus Caesar, Nero Caesar IIviri.
Ace (*rev.* confronted heads, or seated

figures of the two Caesars). Here Pl. XVI, 1, 2; Vives, nos. 57, 58. On the ace with the seated figures the title IIVIRI is omitted. The coins probably date from or soon after A.D. 23 (the year of the death of Drusus, son of Tiberius, when the two young princes were thought of as successors to the Empire). Nero was banished and Drusus imprisoned in A.D. 29.

19. Iuniano Lupo praefecto G. Caesaris, C. Pomponio Parra IIviro.

Ace (rev. legionary eagle between two standards; or, with obv. head of Livia (?) as Pietas, rev. Temple or inscription only). Pl. XVI, 3-5; Vives, nos. 54-56. The date A.D. 23 or soon after is suggested by the original (Mattingly, B.M.C., *Rom. Imp.*, I, p. 133, no. 98) from which the head of Pietas is copied. But at that time G. Caesar was comparatively obscure. In 29 he pronounced the funeral oration on Livia; but it was not until 31 that Tiberius sent for him to Capri, made him assume the *toga virilis* and appointed him to the pontifical college, expressing praise of his *pietas atque indoles* (Suet., *Cal.*, 12, 1). The report of this might well have induced the authorities of Caesar-augusta to elect him duovir and place the head of *Pietas* (whether with reference to Livia or not) on the coin.

J. Ti. Caesar Augustus Augusti f.

20. C. Carri(nate?) Aquil., L. Funi(o) Vete.
Semis (rev. inscription only). Pl. XVI, 6;
Vives, no. 53. The omission of *Divi* is
curious, but probably without significance.
There is nothing to fix the date of this
issue; it may be of any time in the reign of
Tiberius. The two cognomina are prob-
ably *Aquila* or *Aquilinus* and *Vetus* or
Veteranus.⁶⁰

*K. Ti. Augustus Divi Augusti f. Caesar Imp.
Pont. Max.*

21. M' Flavio Festo, M. Ofillio Silvano iter.
Ilviris.
Dupondius (rev. inscription only) and ace
(similar). Here Pl. XVI, 7; Hunter, Catal.,
iii, p. 644, no. 11; Vives, nos. 64-5.

*L. Ti Caesar Divi Aug. f. Augustus Po. Max.
Tr. Pot(e)s. XXX.*
A.D. 28-9.

22. No magistrates.
Dupondius (obv. Tiberius seated, rev. hex-
astyle temple). Pl. XVI, 8; Vives, no. 37.

*M. Ti Caesar Divi Aug. f. Augustus Pont. Max.
Tr. Pot. XXXIII.*
A.D. 31-2.

⁶⁰ In his list, iv, p. 75, Vives miswrites L.IVNIO.VETER
(there seems to be no authority for the R) and in his
description, p. 82 (following Delgado) C.CARRA AQVIL
&c.

23. M. Cato, L. Vettiacus Ilviri.

Dupondius (obv. equestrian statue of Tiberius, rev. legionary eagle between two standards: Pl. XVII, 1; or obv. Tiberius seated, rev. vexillum between two standards: Pl. XVII, 2); ace (priest ploughing; Pl. XVII, 3; or inscription, sometimes in a wreath). Vives, nos. 44–50.

CALIGULA

N. With title *Imperator*, but not *Pater Patriae*.
A.D. 37–8?

24. Liciniano, Germano, Ilviris.

Dupondius (rev. legionary eagle between two standards; Pl. XVII, 4); ace (priest ploughing; Pl. XVII, 5; or inscription only). Vives, nos. 78–82.

O. With both the above titles; A.D. 38–41.

25. Scipione, Montano Ilviris.

Dupondius: obv. head of Caligula, rev. inscription only; or obv. head of *Divus Augustus Pater* radiate, rev. thunderbolt (Pl. XVII, 7); ace: obv. head of Caligula,⁶¹ rev. priest ploughing (Pl. XVII, 6); or obv. head of Agrippa, rev. priest ploughing (Pl. XVIII, 3); or obv. head of Germanicus, rev. inscription only (Pl. XVIII,

⁶¹ Without title *pater patriae*, therefore perhaps early in the year 38.

1, 2 ⁶²); or obv. head of Agrippina, rev. inscription only. Vives, nos. 70–77.

26. Titullo,⁶³ Montano Ilviris.

Dupondius (obv. head of *Divus Augustus Pater* radiate, rev. thunderbolt); ace (obv. head of Caligula, rev. priest ploughing; or obv. head of Agrippina, rev. priest ploughing;⁶⁴ or obv. head of Agrippina, rev. inscription only: Pl. XVIII, 4). Vives, nos. 66–9.

Of the types, the following may be noticed as out of the common:

The bull carrying on its horns a triangular decoration, having a pellet in its middle, and ornaments resembling acroteria (Pl. XV, 4). This type occurs at other Roman mints in Spain, both Hither (as Tarraco and Graccurreis) and Farther (as Bailo ⁶⁵). This shorthand rendering of a temple, as it appears to be, seems to indicate that the bull is a sacred animal.⁶⁶

The standards of the legions quartered at Caesaraugusta are represented sometimes in the

⁶² The Hague coin, Pl. XVIII, 2, is an unusual variety, reading only GERMANICVS CAES on obv.

⁶³ Vives consistently miswrites *Titulo*.

⁶⁴ Misdescribed by Vives as a semis.

⁶⁵ Where Delgado, p. 41, no. 6, takes the headdress for the letter A.

⁶⁶ To put a temple on the head of a sacred figure may seem strange; but it was done to the cultus-figure of the Ephesian Artemis.

usual forms, such as the usual legionary aquila; the standard having a crescent and three phalerae, sometimes also a cross-bar and two pendants, and ending either in a spear-point or in a hand. Exceptional is the form of standard, Pl. XVII, 2, which consists of a tall shaft supporting a single phalera, which appears to be radiate. The way in which these standards and vexilla are sometimes set up on bases indicates that they were worshipped.

Two temples are represented:

- (1) A tetrastyle building, associated apparently with Livia, since the bust on the obverse of the coin is copied from the bust of *Pietas* supposed to represent her on Roman coins and is inscribed *Pietatis Augustae* (Pl. XVI, 4). The temple is presumably one of *Pietas*, vowed if not erected.⁶⁷ We have seen reason to date this coin about A.D. 31.
- (2) A hexastyle building dedicated *Pietati Augustae*, and associated with a seated figure of Tiberius holding patera and sceptre (Pl. XVI, 8). This dates from A.D. 28–9 and was doubtless issued on the death of Livia. It clearly refers to a temple of *Pietas*. An altar was vowed by Tiberius at the time of the illness of Livia in A.D. 22,

⁶⁷ See Wissowa in Roscher, *s.v.*, 2503. Eckhel, *Doctr.*, vi, 157.

but apparently not dedicated until 43. A similar vow may have been made at Caesaraugusta. In this connexion it is to be noted that envoys came from Spain in A.D. 25⁶⁸ asking permission to build a temple to Tiberius and his mother. This was refused; but a compromise may have been arrived at by dedicating the Temple to Pietas.

Since coins sometimes represent a building which was contemplated, and not yet actually finished, it is quite possible that both these types, though on one the building has four columns, on the other six, refer to the same temple.

On a curious dupondius (Pl. XIV, 9) Augustus is represented holding a huge simpulum, which he appears to offer to C. Caesar, while L. Caesar, on a slightly smaller scale, stands behind; all three are on pedestals. The coin must commemorate the erection of a group of statues at Caesaraugusta, and the action of Augustus seems to indicate the offering of a priestly office to C. Caesar, as was done in 6 B.C.⁶⁹ The group would doubtless have resembled that of which the inscribed bases (dating, like the coin, from 3 B.C.) have been found in Tuscany at Soriano.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Tac. Ann.*, IV, 37. Tacitus says they came from Hisp. Ulterior; but what was asked for by Ulterior may as well have been desired by Citerior.

⁶⁹ Cass. Dio, 55, 9.

⁷⁰ *C.I.L.*, xi, 3040.

The winged thunderbolt (Pl. XVII, 7) is associated with *Divus Augustus Pater* as on coins of the mint of Rome.⁷¹

Beside the coinage that can with certainty be attributed to Caesaraugusta, it has been suggested that certain issues of gold and silver were made there under Augustus.⁷² The suggestion is based on an alleged resemblance in style of these aurei and denarii to the local bronze. The evidence appears to me to be too flimsy to support the attribution. The only coins of this sort of which the attribution to a Spanish mint is certain are those of Emerita, and any attribution of others to Spain should be based on a resemblance in style to the issues of Emerita; such a resemblance seems not yet to have been made out.⁷³

⁷¹ B.M.C., *Rom. Imp.*, i, p. 142, nos. 157 f. This coin is placed by Mattingly under Tiberius, for convenience, but may as well be of the time of Caligula, like the same type at Caesaraugusta.

⁷² Laffranchi, *La Monetazione di Augusto*, 1919, pp. 23–5; approved by Mattingly, B.M.C., *Rom. Imp.*, i, pp. CIX ff.

⁷³ The Vidal Quadras y Ramon collection might be expected to contain a good proportion of the coins in question, if they were really struck in Spain; although it must be remembered that (1) gold and silver coins travel easily, and therefore the evidence of provenance is not very conclusive, and (2) the owner may have bought largely in Paris and elsewhere. In his catalogue, the portion which should contain specimens of these coins numbers 48 pieces, from which may be subtracted 3 cistophoric medallions and one *aes*. Of the 43 remaining only 10 are of Laffranchi's Spanish class. Thirteen are of the kinds attributed

OSICERDA

This place is mentioned by Ptolemy ⁷⁴ as belonging to the Edetani (which should be *Sedetani* ⁷⁵); and the people belonged to the conventus of Caesaraugusta according to Pliny.⁷⁶ The site is quite uncertain; it has usually been placed, by those who have been influenced by the reading *Edetani*, in the extreme south of the district of the Conventus of Caesaraugusta.⁷⁷ *Osera*, on the left bank of the Ebro, seems to be the best suggestion hitherto made.

The identification of the Iberian *Usec(e)rθ* (↑\$b<4◊) with the Latin *Osicerda* is certified by the coins ⁷⁸ (Pl. XVIII, 5). These are badly to Lugdunum, and 21 of supposed Eastern mints. This evidence is not of much significance, but is recorded for what it is worth.

⁷⁴ II, 6, 62, 'Οσικερδα.

⁷⁵ See Hübner in *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 509 and in *R.E.*, s.v., *Edetani*; but in *M.L.I.* on no. 36 he seems to accept the reading *Edetani*.

⁷⁶ III, 24. The MS has *Ossigerdenses*. Natives of the place are mentioned *C.I.L.*, ii, 4241, 4267 (Tarraco).

⁷⁷ E.g. by Cortés y Lopez, *Diccionario*, at Mosqueruela; by Kiepert, *Formae*, on the head waters of the Turis. See other suggestions in Heiss, p. 214.

⁷⁸ Heiss, p. 214; Delgado, iii, p. 328; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 46; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 183; Hübner, no. 36 (with earlier references); Vives, ii, p. 177; iv, p. 101. The coin illustrated by Pellerin, *Recueil*, i, 1763, Pl. II, no. 19 (head of Vulcan with tongs, rev. lion) is probably a misread and misdrawn coin, perhaps (as Robinson suggests) of Amyntas of Galatia (head of Heracles with club, rev. lion); or, as Heiss suggests, a coin of Malaca.

imitated from the denarii of Caesar struck in Gaul in 50-49 B.C.

The attribution to Osicerda of the coin (Pl. XVIII, 6), with the *dextrae* and *simpulum*,⁷⁹ is disputed by Vives,⁸⁰ who says that he has never seen the letters M O (for Municipium Osicerda), on which Delgado based his attribution. Strangely enough, on the British Museum specimen which was acquired from Vives himself in 1920, the O is certain, and the M faintly visible (though not, perhaps, in the photograph). These coins, it is true, are not unlike in fabric and style to certain coins of Carthago Nova; but there is nothing surprising in that.

There is no coinage of Augustus. Of Tiberius, Vives distinguishes both semis and quadrans, as well as the ace. But the two smaller coins are probably the same denomination, since they have the same types, although they differ widely in weight.

These Latin coins are the only evidence for the existence of Osicerda as a Municipium.

⁷⁹ Others have described this as an *apex* upside down, which is unlikely. It is true that it seems to have two handles, both short, instead of one long one.

⁸⁰ Prol., p. cxviii.

COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR 101

ILDUQOICO

Rare aces (Pl. XIX, 1), a unique semis (rev. horse with inverted crescent over) and a unique quadrans (same rev. type, but with a pellet above?)⁸¹ are all that are known of this mint. The reading **ΛΛΛΣΛ** is fairly certain; but owing to the inscription standing on the exergual line, it is impossible to say whether the third sign is **Λ** or **Δ** (Zobel gives **Λ**⁸²); and the interior stroke of the last sign is given by different authorities as -, l, / or ·; the fourth is probably correct, giving the adjectival termination *-co*.

The district to which the coins belong is clearly the Ilerdensian, from its types and style; but the mint is quite uncertain. Both Hübner and Schulten⁸³ mention Ildum (near Saguntum) in

⁸¹ These two smaller denominations are represented by examples in the inaccessible Cervera Coll. (Hispanic Soc. of New York), and described by Vives (ii, pp. 62-3), who reads **X** for **Σ** on the smaller piece. He does not give the weights, and the similarity of types makes it possible that the supposed quadrans is really a semis. Other publications: Heiss, p. 147 ("Ilaugit," suggesting Olite; specimen found at Tortosa); Delgado, iii, p. 290 ("Ilo-qith"); Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 44, 47 ("Ildugoit"); p. 241, no. 233, p. 246, no. 258 (the letter **Σ** which he reads on the reverse of this semis is not there, see Pujol); Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, iii, 1883, p. 70 (inaccessible to me); iv, 1884, p. 159; V.Q.R., Catal., no. 369; Hübner, p. 43, no. 37.

⁸² The question thus arises whether we must not read *ilcaqiθ* (or *-qoico*).

⁸³ *Hermes*, 63, p. 292, note.

connexion with it. The termination in *-iθ* (as is usually transliterated here) does not occur on any other Iberian coins, so that the form $\diamond = co$ is to be preferred. On other words which seem to be connected see Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 151, on no. XV.

LAGNE


Lagni is mentioned ⁸⁴ as a town allied to the Numantines, which was occupied by Q. Pompeius in 141 B.C. In spite of Hübner, we can have no hesitation in following Delgado in associating the coins inscribed $\Lambda \P \text{J} \text{M} \text{E}$ *lagne* with this mint.⁸⁵ They are aces (Pl. XIX, 2) and semisses of the usual types (Pl. XIX, 3). The semis has on the obverse, behind the head, the signs $\text{I} \text{M}$ (*in* or *van*), which are also found in the same place on the coins inscribed *Aušescen* (Zobel, inscr. no. 74) *Avarildur* (141–2, 184–5), *Iltrdašalir* (226: on others, as 227,

⁸⁴ Diod., xxxiii, 19, $\Lambda \alpha \gamma \nu \iota$. Appian, *Iber.*, 77, may mean the same place, but he calls it Μαλιά . Schulten, in *R.E.*, s.v. Malia and in *Numantia*, i, p. 357 (where he argues that the site must be somewhere near Almazán on the Duero). The Greek form $\Lambda \alpha \gamma \nu \iota$ would seem to show that the third sign is not necessarily always the equivalent of *gi*, as in Gómez-Moreno's transliteration, but simply *g*.

⁸⁵ Heiss, p. 147; Delgado, iii, p. 298; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 46, 243, no. 269; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 129; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 43, no. 38 (earlier references); V.Q.R., no. 381; Hunter, iii, p. 627; Vives, ii, p. 64.

the same signs, absent from the obverse, are added to the main inscription on the reverse); they occur both on silver and on bronze of various denominations.

SEΘISCEN

The mint which produced the coins inscribed *seθiscen*  (or *seθiscn* or *seθis*)⁸⁶ has not been identified; the style points to the Ilerda district. Zobel's conjecture that they were struck at Dertosa is based on the importance of the coinage during the period of the Hannibalic war, and the fact that Dertosa commanded the passage of the Ebro near its mouth. He thinks that the name Suessetani in Livy⁸⁷ may denote the same people. If however the Iberian form is to be connected with anything in the authors, the name *Sedetani* seems more probable. As *Untce-scen* corresponds to *Indige-tarum* or 'Ινδικη-τῶν, *Seθiscen* might correspond to *Sede-tanorun*. The *Sedetani* inhabited the region near Caesar Augusta.⁸⁸ The only other connexion worth noting that has been proposed is with the town of Σερία,

⁸⁶ Gómez-Moreno's value for the third letter is *te* or *de* (*Sobre los Iberos y su lengua* in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, p. 485.

⁸⁷ XXV, 34.

⁸⁸ Plin., *N.H.*, iii, 24. Mark the distinction from the *Edetani*, drawn by Hübner, *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 509.

mentioned by Ptolemy.⁸⁹ In any case there can be no connexion with Šecaïsa, the initial of which is a different sibilant.

The coins are aces and smaller denominations (semis, quadrans) of a number of issues,⁹⁰ of which Vives has distinguished five, which may be reduced to three. The earliest, if we could argue from its weight alone, would be that with the abbreviated inscription, which Vives puts second (Pl. XIX, 7 here, and his Pl. XXXVIII, 7, 8), with a crescent to l. behind the head and two dolphins in front. But that would necessitate breaking the series on which the rider carries a palm-branch by a group on which he carries a crescent-topped standard. So that here, as at Celsa, the heaviest aces are not necessarily the earliest. The earliest issue has the crescent but no dolphins on the ace (Pl. XIX, 4), a plough on the semis (Pl. XIX, 5), and three pellets on the

⁸⁹ Schuchardt, *Iber. Dekl.*, p. 32; Ptol., ii (vi), 67. The MSS. have Σερία or Σέρια; editors have corrected to Σεγία. The order is Cascantum, Ercavica, Tarraga, Muscaria (Monecaria), Segia, Alavona. There is an ethnic *Setiensis*, but the reference 2856 given by Hübner in *C.I.L.*, ii, index, is wrong, and I have not been able to trace it, nor has Schuchardt.

⁹⁰ Heiss, pp. 150 and 244 (divides the coins between two places); Delgado, iii, pp. 383 f.; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 44, 48; Pujol, *Bol. Acad.*, iii, 1883, p. 75 [inaccessible to me]; v, 1884, p. 29; *epigr.*, 165 a-f; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 43, no. 39 (other earlier references); V.Q.R., nos. 456 f.; Hunter, iii, p. 626, no. 8; Botet, p. lxx; Vives, ii, pp. 87 f.

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quadrans (Pl. XIX, 6). The later issues have three dolphins on the obverse, and the usual types for semis (horse, with inverted crescent above) and quadrans (half Pegasus) (Pl. XIX, 7-11).

ŠECAISA

The coinage inscribed **MĒAMSD** is one of the most important of the Iberian series, but the place where it was issued is unidentified, and even the reading of the name is not quite certain. While one group of numismatists read the third sign as a guttural (*k* or *g*), others read it as a dental (*θ*); Gómez-Moreno prefers *ca*, which is adopted here for working purposes. This peculiar form occurs elsewhere only on the coins inscribed *holscan* and attributed to Osca and on some rare coins inscribed **HAMDXY**. Reference may be made to Hübner⁹¹ for a summary of the various views; he himself, with Delgado, inclines to interpret it as *th* (*θ*), and thinks the name may be connected with the *Sedetani*. As to these, we have already discussed the possibility of the coins inscribed *seθiscn* being attributed to them. Both series of coins cannot claim the same attribution. Almost all writers hint at a connexion between *seθiscn* and the name with which we are now concerned; but since the initial sibilants are

⁹¹ No. 101, p. 93 and pp. xlvii of Prolegomena.

distinct and the third letter in each is differently written, the one thing that seems clear is that they are not connected. Both the sibilants might well have been represented by a Latin *s*, but we cannot assume that the Iberians used both forms indifferently.

The provenance of the coins does not help us much.⁹² Delgado said once that they were commonest in Aragón. Then, having found no fewer than sixteen in a collection of forty Iberian coins made locally at Córdoba, he inclined to attribute them to a district on the borders of Baetica and Tarraconensis; and he suggested *Sax* not far from Almansa on the road from Madrid to Murcia. He asserts that these coins are found frequently in the kingdom of Murcia, and that the few Celtiberic coins which occur in Andalucía are of that class. But, since he identifies *Sax* with Ptolemy's Segisa, whereas he reads the Iberian inscription *Seθisa*, he is obliged to assume an error of γ for θ in the text of Ptolemy.⁹³ Pujol, on the other hand⁹⁴ affirms that the aces of this series are found almost everywhere in Spain and Southern France, most frequently in the lower province of Zaragoza, in company with those of Bilbilis and Celsa; especially in *Cala-*

⁹² See especially Hübner, p. 93.

⁹³ II, 6, 60. The MS. has $\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\delta\alpha$. Segisa is generally conjectured to be represented by Cieza.

⁹⁴ *Bol. de la Acad.*, vii, 1885, p. 30 ff.

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layud ⁹⁵ they are nearly as common as modern copper coins. The denarii of the series are rare; they come into the market in that district, so that they are found in collections at Madrid and Zaragoza, but they are not to be had in Murcia. He adds that the types, weight and lettering of the coins indicate Upper Aragón and the province of Zaragoza. Many have been found at *Duron*, a deserted spot near Calatayud.

On the question of provenance, we have new evidence in the fact that ten out of seventeen Iberian bronze coins found in the third camp of Renieblas were of this series; while, on the contrary, the only four coins picked up by Miss Joshua on the site of an old mine quite close to Córdoba were also of this series. While Miss Joshua's coins, however, were light and probably comparatively late, those found in Renieblas were early and good. The discovery of these coins near Córdoba may be explained by their use for paying the workmen, for which purpose they were doubtless imported in quantity, as were the coins of Tarraco. ⁹⁶

Finally, Miss M. A. Murray recently found a bronze in an excavation in Minorca, which yielded Roman coins extending over a long period.

The provenance of these bronze coins, when they belong to an extensive series, such as those

⁹⁵ Cp. Schulten in *Phil. Woch.*, 1927, p. 1585.

⁹⁶ See *Num. Chr.*, 1929, p. 82.

of Tarraco or Šecaísa, proves little. Style and other evidence compel us to place the mint not far from Caesaraugusta. For this reason, Zobel's suggestion, accepted by Hübner, that they belong to some place in the neighbourhood of Carthago Nova, if not to that place itself in its pre-Roman days, seems unacceptable.

Gómez-Moreno ⁹⁷ accepts the identification of Šecaísa with Segida (Segisa) of Ptolemy.

It will be observed that on the later coins (Pl. XXI, 3, 4) the third sign takes a simpler form, the cross-bar being dropped. This probably indicates the breaking down of a syllabic sign into a single sound sign. For these syllabic signs tend to disappear, being characteristic of a primitive stage. Thus on the coins of Tarraco, Cese is succeeded on the later coins by Cse, and the same thing happens at Celsa. It is curious, however, that the single syllabic sign is not followed by two signs, one for the consonant, the other for the vowel. One would have expected < to be followed by <v.

The coins ⁹⁸ show a fairly long development,

⁹⁷ *Sobre los Iberos y su Lengua* in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, p. 493.

⁹⁸ Lorichs, Pl. XI, 1-10; XII, 1, 2; XIII, 1. Heiss, pp. 281-2, Pl. XXXVIII. Delgado, iii, pp. 373-5. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 105. Pujol in *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, iii, 1883, p. 72 [inaccessible to me]; vi, 1885, pp. 338-40; *epigr.*, nos. 162 a-f. Hübner, n. 101 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 156-9.

and a number of interesting varieties. The denarii and the heavier aces are not, it would seem, the earliest; as at Celsa and at the mint which struck the coins inscribed *Seθiscn*, we begin with a light series (Pl. XX, 1-5); on the aces the rider carries an object which appears to be a standard topped with an eagle.^{98a} A specimen of the rare variety with the bearded head on the obverse was found in Camp III at Renieblas in good condition (Pl. XX, 5). We may assume therefore that this series belongs to the first half of the second century.

On the denarii and heavy aces⁹⁹ of the second series (Pl. XX, 6, 7; Vives, issue V), the horseman bears a branch of palm. The form **℞**, characteristic of the earlier series, is succeeded by **℟** (this occurs on the coin with the bearded head from Numantia (Pl. XX, 5), which is thus rightly placed towards the end of the first series) and **℠**. The first two letters of the name are usually repeated behind the head on the obverse.

The heavy weight does not last long; the transition to the next series is given by the light ace Vives, Pl. LXV, 5, on which the rider carries

^{98a} I think it is rightly so described. It is true that, in whatever position this shaft is apparently held, the eagle is upright; but that is a reasonable licence. The animal behind the head on the obverse is a lion.

⁹⁹ Weights: British Museum 22.96, 20.78, 19.95, 18.95, 18.16; Berlin 24.01 (worn), Gotha 21.43 (worn); 18.60 (edge beaten up); 15.25. Madrid 18.30 (Heiss, Pl. 38, 2).

a spear, as on all the third series. The initials then disappear from the obverse, where the head is now accompanied by two dolphins.

The coins which compose these three series are divided by Vives into eight 'emisiones,' but the classification just indicated seems to be as detailed as the material justifies. But it does not include the variety¹⁰⁰ of the ace which is inscribed *šecaisaqom* (Pl. XXI, 6¹⁰¹). That the two words *šecaisa* and *šecaisaqom* have to do with the same place cannot be doubted. But, so far as it is possible to judge from the indifferently preserved specimens available, it does not seem possible to fit this ace into the *šecaisa* series. The termination -qom¹⁰² is often found on coins added to what appear to be place-names, although none of them can be identified; the form *Clounioq* written in Latin on the coins of Clunia (corresponding to the Iberian *Qolounioco*) appears to be another example. That it is an ethnic termination is generally admitted, though in what case and number may be doubtful. It appears to be characteristic of Lower Celtiberia and the district of Carthago Nova¹⁰³—which is the only reason

¹⁰⁰ Vives, failing to read the inscription aright, includes one of these as no. 11 in his 4th 'emisión'; nor does he anywhere deal with this form of inscription.

¹⁰¹ Heiss, Pl. XXXVIII, 6; Delgado, Pl. CLXVIII, 4.

¹⁰² Schuchardt, *Iber. Dekl.*, pp. 42 f.

¹⁰³ Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 272. If the Clunia parallel is admitted, we have an example from another district.

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in favour of the attribution of the coins with which we are now concerned to that neighbourhood. It is possible that the coins inscribed *šecaisa* were local issues for the mint-town, and those inscribed *šecaisaqom* were regional issues, as we have suggested in the case of the coins of the Ilergetes.

The coins had a very wide circulation, being found both in Southern France and in Baetica.¹⁰⁴

REGIO SAGUNTINA


SAGUNTUM

The Greek origin ascribed to this city (*Murvi-edro* in the Middle Ages, now once more *Sagunto*) is thought to have been invented owing to the likeness of the name to Zakynthos.¹ It was

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 106 f., and Heiss, p. 283.

¹ *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 511 ff. (Hübner). A Chabret, *Sagunto, su historia y sus monumentos*, Barcelona, 1888. Schulten in *P.W.K., R.E.*, 2d ser., i (1920), 1755–6 (with bibliography). P. Paris, *Prom. Arch. en Esp.*, ii, 1921, pp. 127–68 (with bibliography). On the coins, see especially: Heiss, pp. 217 ff., 288 ff.; Delgado, III, pp. 345–363; Zobel in *Comm. phil. in hon. Th. Mommsen*, 1877, pp. 805–824 (cited below as Zobel, *C.P.M.*); the same in *M.N.E.*, iv, pp. 207 ff.; v, pp. 54 f., 117 f.; Hübner no. 40 (with bibliography); Vives, i, pp. 29–36; ii, pp. 17–24; iv, p. 11. There is nothing new, so far as concerns us here, in the account of the history of Saguntum given by M. Gonzalez Simancas in his *Memoria* on the excavations (Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades, 1921–2, no. 4, Madrid, 1923).

certainly originally an Iberian fortress. The city was allied with the Romans, if the Roman accounts can be believed; and Hannibal's attack on it and capture of it in 219 B.C. was the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Second Punic War. It was recaptured and rebuilt by Scipio eight years later. In the time of Augustus it was a *municipium civ. Rom.*

Bilingual coins of the Roman period associate the Iberian name *Arse* with the Latin name *Saguntum*, from which it has been inferred that the earlier Iberian coins with *Arse*, alone or in various combinations, belong to this place. One of these combinations has been read *Arsesacen*² and *sacen* interpreted by Schuchardt and Schulten as the name of which the Romans made *Saguntum*. But the correct reading is , *arsescen*,³ and the alleged connexion of the second half of the word with *Saguntum* cannot be maintained.

Of the other known combinations, one group (Pl. XXI, 13 ff.) reads apparently *arsgdr*; for the fourth letter, like an archaic reversed Greek *ν*, there appears in one or two readings recorded by Pujol⁴ the usual form for *g*. Berlanga and Hübner therefore both read this fourth letter as *g*. If they are right, it is remarkable that the ordinary form of *g* should be found on the supplementary inscription

² Pl. XXI, 7 (the unique coin at Stockholm).

³ Zobel's *arsesrn* is not likely.

⁴ *La epigrafia*, no. 66 g.

arsagsoe(?)grr(?) on the curious coin illustrated on Pl. XXI, 10; but it is to be observed that that supplementary inscription also provides within its own limits two forms of *r*.⁵ The reading of this supplementary inscription, which is perhaps a personal name, is not very clear. Hübner (40 *b*) reads *arsagsoegra*, but the forms which he gives are conventional and appear to be arbitrary; Pujol's facsimile (66 *bis a*) would rather favour *arsagsaegar* (so Heiss); on the specimen illustrated by Vives (Pl. VI, 15; here Pl. XXI, 10) the last two letters seem to be **ꝥ** and on two Berlin specimens (from different dies) they are **ꝥ**, which must be for *ra*, with the *a* retrograde. On the British Museum specimen the last two letters seem to be **ꝥ**. The Hunter specimen is mutilated in this part, but the last letter is **ꝥ**. The reading given by Vives, with a **ꝥ** of the exceptional form mentioned above, is belied by his own illustration;⁶ but he may have seen it on some other specimen. On the whole, Hübner's reading or our own seems preferable to any other proposed.

In the other inscriptions (Pl. XXI, 8–11), the third and fourth signs, at first sight similar, seem to be distinguished; in the third the slanting strokes start from inner points of the hasta, in

⁵ Zobel distinguishes the form **ꝥ** as the strong *r* from the **ꝥ** as the soft one (*Mem. Num. Esp.*, iv, p. 259).

⁶ A cast of the coin which he illustrates confirms the reading of the British Museum specimen, except that the sixth letter is apparently **ꝥ**.

the fourth the lower slanting stroke starts from the bottom of the hasta. The third sign may therefore be *e*, the fourth *ce*, giving *arsecedr*. Whether this is the same name as *arsgdr* is not certain, but probable.

The idea that *arse* is the Latin *arx* may be dismissed. The equation provided by the bilingual coins does not prove that it is the name of *Saguntum* (which is itself probably a corruption of an Iberian name). But it may be the beginning of the name of the surrounding tribe,⁷ of which Saguntum was the capital. *Arsecedr* and *arsgdr* are hardly likely to be personal names; it would be too strange a coincidence that not only this, but *arsagsoegra*, if they were all personal names, should begin with the same syllable as the name of the place to which they belong.⁸ Nor is it likely that, in accordance with the thoroughly unsound theory of alliance coinages which has prevailed until lately, they are the names of another people or peoples in alliance with *Arse*. It may be suggested, as a perhaps not altogether desperate solution, that the latter half of the word means something like 'stronghold'; may even be a loan-word from the Phoenician גדר, 'walled city,' which was the name of Gades.⁹

⁷ As Schuchardt says, p. 37, this in the gen. pl. would be *arsescen* (which one coin actually reads).

⁸ On the connexion between names of persons and places see, however, Schulten in *Hermes*, 63, pp. 291-2.

⁹ Zobel (*Mem. Num. Esp.*, iv, p. 266) assumes suppression of *n* before the dental (*arsgdr* for *arsagundr*).

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The word is found in an even longer form (𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆) on a small silver coin in the Vidal Quadras y Ramon collection (Pl. XXI, 11).¹⁰ Owing to the fancy that the horse's head which is the reverse type has the so-called Chrysaor form, this coin was placed among the "alliance" coins with Emporion. In the owner's catalogue it is properly associated with the other Arse-coins.

As to the types, the head of Heracles (whether he be the Greek demigod or, as is more probable, in origin the Phoenician Melkart) illustrates the legend of the foundation of the city recorded by Silius Italicus. The human-headed bull (absurdly called the Minotaur by earlier numismatists) is a river-god; whether inspired by coins of Naples or not, it doubtless represents the local river Palantia. The bull of the later coins is doubtless also the river-god; in the charging attitude of Pl. XXII, 5, we perhaps see the influence of the bronze coins of Massalia (H. de la Tour, *Atlas*, Pl. IV, 1495 f.), though the way in which both forelegs are raised from the ground is original. The running bull of a rare coin (Pl. XXI, 12; Vives, Pl. VI, 14), is also unusual and original, and enforces the undesirability of hunting in all kinds of unlikely places for the models of Spanish

¹⁰ Zobel in *Mem. Num. Esp.*, iv, p. 123, Catal., no. 159; Delgado, Pl. CXXX, 133; Hübner, 5 c; Botet, p. xlviii. *Obv.* butting bull. *Rev.* horse's head. Weight not given, but described by Hübner as $\frac{1}{16}$ drachm.

coins. The wheel on the reverse of the *Arsescen* coin (Pl. XXI, 7) is perhaps also derived from Massalia; but the eagle on the rare coin at Madrid (Pl. XXII, 2; Vives, Pl. VI, 18) comes from a Roman source.

Besides the silver coins with this inscription, there is a rare bronze (Pl. XXII, 7; cp. Vives, Pl. VI, 17) with types (scallop-shell and prow) which are found on the later coins; and indeed, it must belong to a slightly later time.

As to the date of the silver coinage, we have little help from external sources. Pl. XXII, 5, since a specimen of it was in the Córdoba find, must be earlier than about 105 B.C., but that we should have guessed from its style. The coins which have the human headed bull on the reverse are all distinctly earlier in fabric and style, and many of them distinctly recall the Barcid coins of the period preceding the Second Punic War. Earliest of all seems to be the Stockholm coin, with the pure Greek form of *s* (Pl. XXI, 7). Next, partly on account of their archaic script, but also on account of the style of the head, we may place the coins with the helmeted female head (Pl. XXI, 8-10). It is by no means certain that this is Roma; the helmet is Corinthian, in fact the head is nearer to that on staters of Alexander the Great than to anything else. The eye is sometimes rendered in full view, but that is probably due to mere incapacity on the part

of the engraver. The general appearance and fabric of the coins is not unlike that of the obols of Emporion (Pl. I), but they can hardly be so old. A specimen of the fine coin (Pl. XXI, 12) with the galloping bull (such it is, rather than a dog) was in the find of Cheste (prov. di Valencia),¹¹ which contained Hispano-Carthaginian silver didrachms and drachms, a few drachms of Emporion with the "Pegasus-Chrysaor" and imitations of the same with Iberian or blundered inscriptions, wheel-obols of Massalia, and one early Roman denarius (ROMA in tablet). Zobel attributes the burial of the hoard to 219–214 B.C., *i.e.* to the first period of the struggle with Rome. This is in conflict with the new date to which the introduction of the denarius is ascribed; and the denarius in question was not well preserved.¹² If, however, the hoard was not buried until some time in the second century, it is curious that it should have contained none of the later Saguntine coins, seeing how close Cheste is to Saguntum. But this may be an accident, and it must be remembered that the hoard was not recovered in its entirety.

The strange coin with the eagle on the reverse (Pl. XXII, 2) can hardly have been made except by some one who had seen the Roman Mars-

¹¹ Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, pp. 162 ff.

¹² Possibly it was an intrusion. The evidence of the constitution of the hoard is very unsatisfactory.

gold. It must therefore be later than 217 B.C., if we accept the traditional date for the latter.

It seems best to class the various issues of silver quite roughly: those with the human-headed bull (and a few others, such as the galloping bull) from about 250 to 200 B.C.; those with the ordinary bull standing, in the second century. A transition between the two series is given by Pl. XXI, 17 and XXII, 1, which share one obverse die. This may seem a vague arrangement compared with the neat classification made by Zobel;¹³ but the material does not seem to me to justify his precise deductions.

Zobel's analysis of the weights is as follows:

1st period (226–218 B.C.). Victoriates of 3.41 g. normal. Types corresponding to Pl. XXI, 1–14.

2d period (214–204 B.C.). Reduced victoriates of 2.92 g. normal (types corresponding to Pl. XXI, 15–XXII, 4).

3d period (204–154 B.C.). Reduced victoriates of 2.65 g. mean weight (types corresponding to Pl. XXII, 5, 6).

Yet his reduced victoriates of the second period range from 3.65 to 2.00 gr., while the unreduced of his first period range from 3.46 to 2.37 g.

Vives, after an inadequate presentation of the evidence,¹⁴ concludes that the coins belong to the

¹³ *M.N.E.*, iv, pp. 208–212.

¹⁴ i, p. 32. He gives the weights 3.20, 3.10, 3.00 for specimens of his no. 15, but means no. 17. He places the

same system as those Rhoda and Emporion, the unit of Saguntum being half that of the other places. For, he says, we must not allow the extreme weights to rob the general rule of its force. The coins whose weights have been recorded are unfortunately too few to allow of a frequency diagram being of use; but there is no doubt that Vives is wrong; the 'extreme weights' are too many for his theory. Even ignoring the higher weights which he gives, if we take the weight of 2.80 g. for the unit, its double of 5.60 g. is much too high for the standard of Rhode and Emporion.

For Zobel, the coins are of the victoriate standard,¹⁵ and it is certainly remarkable that the highest weight reached, 3.65 g., is within 0.24 g. of the normal victoriate (3.41 g.). Vives objects that the victoriate is supposed to have originated in an Illyrian or a Capuan drachm, and was made for the Romans, and that it is unreasonable to suppose that, if the Saguntines wanted to adopt the Roman system, they should have chosen the victoriate, which was for the Romans an exotic weight, and not the denarius, coins with the more archaic inscriptions all in his second period, and takes no account of the change from **N** or **Λ** to **♯**; in fact his arrangement is as nearly topsy-turvy as it can be.

¹⁵ So too Mommsen, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, XXXV, 1863, p. 7, regards these Saguntine coins as struck on the standard of Massalia, which had adopted the victoriate system.

which was the national coin. But the origin and date of introduction of the victoriate are still uncertain; and it is even possible that it may have been of Spanish origin. Spain was, after all, the chief source of silver; Rome was in ancient alliance with Saguntum, and trade must have been lively between the two peoples. Some of the earliest Saguntine silver may well be earlier than the earliest Roman coins on the victoriate standard. Rome, then, and not Saguntum, may have been the debtor in this transaction of the victoriate standard. The Saguntine coin may have been merely a reduction of the drachm of the light Phoenician standard (normal 3.63 to 3.65 g.) a weight which, as Zobel records, is actually reached by one specimen.¹⁶ Didrachms of this series were familiar to the Saguntines in the Barcid coinage.

However this may be, the general evidence of the weight seems to confirm the classification adopted in this catalogue, in so far as it shows a general tendency to a fall in the order of the classification. In those groups which we have placed last (Pl. XXII, 3-6) the coins never (with one exception)¹⁷ reach 3 g.; in our first group (Pl. XXI, 7-10) they are usually well above 3 g.; in our second (Pl. XXI, 12-15) they are still often, but less frequently above that level.

¹⁶ Zobel, *C.P.M.*, p. 809, no. 12.

¹⁷ One of 3.06 g. is recorded by Zobel, *C.P.M.*, p. 811, no. 19, from the Cervera Collection.

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The few coins similar to Pl. XXI, 12 seem however to run to a high weight; Zobel (no. 7) gives 3.46 (formerly Heiss), 3.40 (Copenhagen), 3.40 (Vera), 3.15 (Zobel) for the four specimens known to him; of these the Copenhagen specimen is rather 3.42. It is the finest in style of all the Saguntine coins and doubtless represents the most careful effort of the mint.

The bronze coin on Pl. XXII, 7, has been described as having S, the mark of the *semis*, above the prow. But the Paris and Newell specimens show that the illustration given by Lorichs, and repeated by Heiss and Delgado, is approximately correct; the object above the prow, whatever it is (a misunderstood uraeus? an open wreath?), is not S. Although therefore the prow betrays Roman influence, we cannot describe this coin as a *semis*, or say that it belongs to the Roman system. The weights known to me are: 8.62 (Paris); 5.35 (Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 208); 6.64 (Newell).

The aces of the later bronze issues fall into two main groups.¹⁸ There is first a lighter group, without anything Latin in type or inscription

¹⁸ Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 50, regards the heavy coins with the prow as dupondii and the coins with the rider as the corresponding aces. Vives seems to be right in rejecting this. But his statement that the aces with the head of Roma range from 13.5 to 14.5 g., and that therefore they belong to the uncial standard, is on the face of it both untrue and absurd.

(Pl. XXII, 8, 9). These are placed by Vives later, as semuncial; but they are earlier in style, and here, as elsewhere, we find a lighter series of aces preceding a later. The later aces are heavier (so-called uncial) and have a head of Roma, recalling denarii of the beginning of the last third of the second century, such as those of M. CATO (Pl. XXII, 10 ff.). It would seem that, possibly with the resettlement of the conditions of Spain after the fall of Numantia, a heavier standard was introduced.

Some of these later aces have a couple of Iberian words (Pl. XXII, 10, 11), others are inscribed in Latin, with the initials or names of curule aediles. The words *valcacaldo*¹⁹ (with which compare other words beginning with the same element—*valca* in Saguntine inscriptions: Hübner, xxviii, *valcatne*; xxix, *valcatnde*; xxx, *valcnk* —; xxxi b, *valcatn*), *iqorkleš* (compare *isqorkleš* at Emporion, above p. 27), and *pulagoš* or *bulagoš*²⁰ may be personal or place names. Hübner's remark that names of magistrates are not found on Iberian coins, except on those of Emporion and Obulco, begs the question. The parallel between these pairs of Iberian names and the pairs of curule aediles on aces of the same

¹⁹ Pujol, *epigr.*, 67 a and Zobel, inscr. no. 300, give a case in which the second *l* is omitted.

²⁰ See Hübner, following Pujol, *epigr.*, 67 *a*, *b* and others. Vives gives $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Sigma M$ (*allaqs*), but is a Gallio in such matters.

types is exact. It is true that the second pair of Iberian names, if we arrange the coins by style, would seem to fall at the end (Pl. XXIII, 5), the first pair at the beginning of the series, and yet the same name *Valcacaldo* occurs in both pairs. But they do not necessarily represent the same person. We may suppose that even towards the end of the series an Iberian may have inscribed a coin in his native alphabet, although officials of Roman origin or status may have long used Latin in the same place.

These officials are aediles, who, as Hübner has shown,²¹ in Saguntum filled, if not the highest office, still one on a level with the duoviri.

The Latin names are:

L B M P ²² (Pl. XXII, 13);

C S (Pl. XXIII, 1);

CN·BAEBI·GLAB·L·CALPVRN· AED (Pl. XXIII, 2). Here Heiss followed by Vives reads AED·CVR· where Florez followed by Delgado reads AED·G·S·, which, as Hübner says (*loc. cit.*), is not explained.²³ The Baebia gens is frequently mentioned in local inscriptions and the Cn. Baebius of the coins may be the aedile mentioned in *C.I.L.*, ii, 3854–5, 3882.

²¹ *C.I.L.*, ii, 3853.

²² P B M P as given by various writers from Florez downwards, I have not been able to verify. On the other hand the initial L is certain (see Pl. XXII, 13).

²³ Reading GLAB(rio) and not G·LAB· we have two, not as Hübner supposes, three aediles.

M·AEMIL· CN BAEB· AED

(Vives, Pl. XVIII, 3).

L·SEMPR· VETTO, L·FABI· POST·

(Pl. XXIII, 3).

L·AE -- AEM·ERCOL· (Vives, Pl. XVIII, 5; very doubtful reading).

M·ACILI Q[?]POPIL (Pl. XXIII, 4;
where Vives reads O·POPIL).

Denominations smaller than the ace: in addition to the semis of the earlier period already mentioned, there is a semis of Roman types (head of Jupiter, rev. prow, SAGVNT above and S on r.).²⁴

There is a fairly long series of quadrantes²⁵ (usually with the mark of value of three globules). The earlier bear in Iberian short inscriptions or single letters, the later have Latin initials; which on one coin are combined with the Iberian name of the city, *arse*. One variety only (Pl. XXIII, 13) bears the name of the city in Latin. The Iberian inscriptions are:

𐌶𐌰𐌱𐌰 or 𐌶𐌰𐌱𐌰 (Pl. XXIII, 6). Hübner (no. 40 z) gives the first of these, and also (y) 𐌶𐌰𐌱𐌰,

²⁴ Vives, ii, p. 21, no. 14, only known from the Cervera specimen.

²⁵ I doubt the correctness of the attribution to Saguntum of the coin on which the dolphin is accompanied by a trident. (Heiss, Pl. XXVII, 10; Vives, Pl. XIX, 21—unique specimen in the Paris Cabinet; perhaps a coin of S. Italy).

which is perhaps due to specimens on which the first sign is imperfect. **ℙ** is presumably a monogram of **ℙℳ**, *i.e.* *ai*. **Λ** cannot be so explained, nevertheless it is clear.

ℙℳ (*ai*) accompanied by **ℙ** or **ℳ** (Pl. XXIII, 7, 8).

ℙℚℑℓ (*arse*) (Pl. XXIII, 9) accompanied by **P·V·C·A** (Pl. XXIII, 10) or **C·A·P·V**.²⁶

The Latin initials, in addition to those just mentioned, are **C·S·M·Q** (Pl. XXIII, 11; *cp.* Vives, Pl. XIX, 19, misread; Heiss, Pl. XXVII, 9), which may be connected with the ace with **C·S·** (Pl. XXIII, 1); **M** and **MQ** which occur alone (Pl. XXIII, 12 and Vives, no. 24, Pl. XIX, 11, where a trident accompanies the dolphin); and **MA MB** (Vives, Pl. XIX, 14; Catal. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 940).

The types of the sextans (if that is the denomination) are the same as those of the quadrans, but the dolphin is accompanied by a star (Pl. XXIII, 14). There is no mark of value. A specimen was found in Camp III at Renieblas, and therefore presumably dates before 153 B.C.²⁷

Vives looks for the origin of the scallop-dolphin types in the small silver of Tarentum; a source unlikely for chronological reasons. Both types were within the capacity of the inhabitants of a maritime city, even if they were Iberians, to invent.

²⁶ Zobel, *C.P.M.*, p. 814, nos. 34, 35; Vives, Pl. XIX, 4.

²⁷ Haeblerlin, p. 38, no. 147, 2.20 g. (not identified).

When this bronze coinage came to an end, it is difficult to say; but it is very unlikely that, as Zobel believes,²⁸ it ceased at the time of the Numantine war and was not revived until the time of Tiberius. The absence of coins of Augustus is puzzling,²⁹ and cannot be supplied by inserting under Saguntum the well-known uncertain coins with the shield on the reverse, for their style is different from anything found in the neighbourhood.

Under Tiberius we have units and halves, presumably aces (type, ship's prow) and semisses (type, ship), the former in the name of the duoviri, L. Sempronius Geminus and L. Valerius Sura (Pl. XXIV, 1), the latter in the name of the aediles, L. Aemilius Maxumus and M. Baebius Sobrinus (Pl. XXIV, 3). The same duoviri also issued a small piece³⁰ of the types of the semis; this as Vives remarks is an exception to the ordinary rule that the duoviri confined themselves to the larger, the aediles to the smaller denomination. We have already seen that at Saguntum the aediles were at least on a level with the duoviri.

These coins of Tiberius are more often than not countermarked D D (*decreto decurionum*); we

²⁸ *C.P.M.*, p. 820.

²⁹ The same phenomenon is found at Cascantum and Osicerda; cp. also Dertosa.

³⁰ Heiss, Pl. XXVIII, 23; Vives, iv, p. 12, no. 3, Pl. CLXXIII, 7 (not 6). Weight not stated. I.V.D.J.

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also find the countermark M·S (Pl. XXIV, 2). On Pl. XXIV, 1, D D is stamped over MS.

The same two marks and a third, CR, according to Delgado, are found on the above-mentioned coins of Augustus of uncertain attribution with the circular shield on the reverse. These used to be attributed to Carthago Nova, for reasons long since sufficiently disproved; Delgado (iii, pp. 356–7) would have them to be “alliance” coins between Saguntum and Segobriga.

SAETABIS

Saetabi³¹ as the name is given on the coins (cp. *C.I.L.*, ii, 3625), is called Saetabis by the literary authorities;³² it stood on a river of the same name (but now called Alcoy), and is now represented by *Játiva*. With one exception the coins³³ are all of bronze. A ‘half-victoriate’ in-

³¹ Hübner, *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 488; Schulten in P.W.K., *R.E.*, s.v.

³² E.g. Silius, iii, 373; Ptol., ii, 6, 62, where see Müller's note. There is no reason to believe that the form in -i (cp. Calagurri, Bilbili) is anything but a nominative.

³³ Heiss, pp. 279 ff. and 432; Delgado, III, pp. 342–345; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 57 and 251–3; Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, iii, 1883, pp. 70, 72 (not accessible to me); *epigr.*, no. 119 c, 157 a–f; Hübner, no. 43 (with earlier references); Vives, ii, pp. 24–27.

scribed *šait* is described by Pujol from his own collection.³⁴

We may divide the bronze into four series.³⁵ The first (Pl. XXIV, 4–8) is a light series of aces, semisses, quadrantes and sextantes. The ace has the rider carrying a spear; behind the head on the obverse is a branch (of palm?).

In the second series (Pl. XXIV, 9), which may be dated after the Numantine war, the weight of the ace is raised,³⁶ and the rider carries a palm-branch; behind the head on the obverse is a sceptre. Possibly the quadrans described by Vives from the Cervera collection may belong to this series: *obv.* scallop-shell; *rev.* half-Pegasus or sea-horse, with .•. as mark of value.

Third comes a small group of aces of poor style and light weight, evidently degenerated from the heavy aces (Pl. XXIV, 10); and finally, probably just before the beginning of the Empire, the bilingual aces (Pl. XXIV, 11, 12). On these last

³⁴ *Epigr.*, no. 157 *d*, and p. 351. This seems to have disappeared, and is not mentioned by Vives.

³⁵ This arrangement abandons the usual course of putting the heaviest asses first; it provides, however, an orderly sequence of types. Otherwise, the rider with the lance would interrupt the series on which he carries a palm-branch.

³⁶ In addition to those in the British Museum (27g.22, 23g.41, 19g.51), I note 28.75 and 25.15 (Paris), 24.75 (Berlin-Imhoof), 27.02 (VQR), 25.56 (Hunter: the weight 194.5 grains in Hunt. Cat., III, p. 628, no. 2, is a misprint).

the head sometimes appears to be bearded (Pl. XXIV, 12), but this may be due to a defect in the coin.³⁷

The coinage came to an end before the establishment of a municipium, of which the inhabitants were known as Saetabitani-Augustani.

The letters **ℓ**, which occur on one group of semuncial aces, we have already met with on the coins of the Indiketai and elsewhere. It is not certain that they are a mark of value, any more than the crescent (which occurs on the semis and, with a pellet between the horns, on a quadrans).

As to the inscriptions,³⁸ the reading **ℳ** instead of **M** for the first letter is vouched for by Pujol (nos. 157 *a*, *b*) on two quadrantes; he also gives the form **ℳ** from an ace. The latter is clear enough on the specimen illustrated by Vives (ii, p. 25) as a forgery, and the coin illustrated by Lorichs (Pl. xi, 1), which seems to be the only other evidence for the unusual form, seems to be from the same die. This form may therefore be regarded as lacking good evidence. As to the form **M**, there is no trace of it on the London quadrans (Pl. XXIV, 7) similar to those on which it has been read by Lorichs, Delgado, etc. Hüb-

³⁷ Vives says, *à propos* of the bilingual asses of Gili (ii, p. 38), that the bilinguals of Saetabi differ in workmanship from the unilinguals. But there is really little difference between them and that group of unilinguals which appears immediately to precede them.

³⁸ Hübner, no. 43.

ner reads it as a monogram of *aš*. For the present we may regard it as lacking confirmation. The fifth letter of the inscription, when there is one, should presumably be a *P*, if the Iberian name corresponds to the Latin form *saetabi*. On the London quadrans the form is clearly *Q*; and other forms given by Delgado and others are *Q* and *Q* (which would be *r*); while Zobel (inscr. 342-5) supplies the desired form *P* or *P*. The *r*-forms are probably therefore mistakes of the engraver.

The additional inscription on the London quadrans reads clearly *igordaš*, and is probably a personal name.

The special significance of the quadrans-types: lunate shield, Cupid riding a dolphin, goose and fly (Pl. XXIV, 7, 8), is quite obscure. It has been suggested that the second (which occurs also at Carteia) is derived from a Roman denarius of M' Cordius (Grueber, B.M.C., *Rom. Rep.*, Pl. li, 13). This denarius dates from about 46 B.C. The type of Cupid riding a dolphin is, however, an ordinary attribute of Venus,³⁹ and may have been adapted from some local piece of sculpture. The goose may also owe its origin to a cult of Venus.

The pelta or lunate shield ⁴⁰ is not characteristic

³⁹ Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 266.

⁴⁰ Taken by some writers for a crescent moon with human features; on the quadrans in the British Museum there is no trace of such details.

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of the Iberians, who usually carried a small round target.⁴¹

AVARILDUR

This inscription (PIOMΛAD) is found on a small and rare group of coins⁴² (Pl. XXV, 1-3; described as semis, quadrans, sextans), all with a beardless head on the obverse, behind which are the letters IM (on the sextans, Pl. XXV, 3, which lacks these letters, the head is diademed). The reverse type of the semis is a bull, of the quadrans a horse running, of the sextans a dolphin. The coins, according to Delgado, come from the region in the borders of the kingdoms of Valencia and Castile. According to the same authority, the modern *Ayora*, in that region, was called by the Romans *Aurilia* or *Jaura*,⁴³ and he suggests that the coins above-mentioned belong to it. The most modern authorities do not mention the alleged ancient names of Ayora.

Vives describes the reverse of the semis as a bull or antelope of an unknown type; Heiss took it for a wolf; but it is merely a badly rendered

⁴¹ Sandars, *Weapons of the Iberians*, p. 76.

⁴² Heiss, p. 287; Delgado, iii, p. 9 ff.; Pujol in *Rev. de cienc. hist.*, ii, 1881, pp. 543 ff.; *epigr.*, no. 58; Hübner, p. 33, no. 22; Vives, ii, p. 165; Botet, p. lxvi.

⁴³ So Cean-Bermudez, *Sumario*, p. 50; cp. J. C. Pinol, *Iberia protohist.*, 1891, p. 335.

bull. The letters **IM** behind the head occur on denarii of Ausa and Ilerda-Šalirvan, and on a semis of Lagne. On the strength of the bull, Zobel gives the coins to the district of Emporiae; whereas Pujol (who says that they are not found in Catalonia) thinks the type of the running bull points rather to the Saguntine district. There seems to be no reason for removing the coins, as Vives does, from the other Ibero-Roman series, and placing them in a special category with those of Castulo, Osicerda, etc.

LAURO

There can be little doubt that the coins inscribed **ΛΡ↑ΔΗ** belong to the place, called in the literary texts Lauron (Λαύρων), which was captured and burned by Sertorius under the eyes of Pompeius in 76 B.C.⁴⁴ The resemblance of the coins to those of Saetabi and Saguntum fixes the district to which they belong. The actual site is unidentified, but it probably lay between Valentia and Saguntum.

The coins⁴⁵ are all bronze (ace, semis and

⁴⁴ Plut., *Sert.*, xviii; *Pomp.*, xix; App., *Bell. Civ.*, i, 109 (510), etc.; Hübner in *C.I.L.*, ii, pp. 482-3 and no. 3875; Schulten in *P.W.K.*, s.v. *Lauro* (2); Cp. his *Sertorius*, p. 92 and *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1927, 1583-4, and *Klio*, 23, 1930, p. 382.

⁴⁵ Heiss, p. 110, Pl. V, 1-4 (under Iluro). Delgado, iii, pp. 299-304. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 57, 250-3.

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quadrans; Pl. XXV, 4–9). Of the ace four groups are known, distinguished by symbols behind the head (club, ear of corn, caduceus, sceptre). One group, that with the club as symbol, represents both heavy and light standards; of the former only one specimen (Pl. XXV, 4) is known. Some of the other light aces may be earlier than this group; it is almost impossible to discern any development in style.

As Vives observes (ii, p. 37), the letters $\text{b}\odot$, which Zobel thought he read on an ace, may be a misunderstanding of the serpent-headed torque and the circular ornament on Pl. XXV, 6.

GILI

The style of the coins inscribed $\text{J}\wedge\text{N}$ *gili* shows that the place of issue was not far from Saetabi and Saguntum. There are bilingual coins reading GILI below the head on the obverse.⁴⁶ The site is unidentified.⁴⁷

Pujol, *epigr.*, 131 *a-c*. Hübner, no. 42 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, p. 36.

⁴⁶ Vives, ii, p. 38, says that nearly all, or at least the majority, of these bilinguals are false, and observes that they are like the bilinguals of Saetabi in being of workmanship distinct from the unilingual aces; those of Saetabi, however, though equally ugly, are of undoubted authenticity. The specimen in the Vidal Quadras y Ramon collection (no. 509) appeared to me to be genuine.

⁴⁷ Cortés y Lopez (*Diccionario*, iii, p. 19) identified *Gil*,

The only known coins⁴⁸ are aces of the sem-uncial standard (Pl. XXV, 10, 11). The symbol on the obverse is meant rather for a palm-branch than, as Vives says, for an ear of corn.

The first letter of the inscription on the coin (Pl. XXV, 10), and other specimens from the same die,⁴⁹ looks as if it had been first written retrograde and then altered. It would seem to be the upper arm of the original letter, exaggerated in Lorichs' engraving (Pl. XXX, 10), that has given rise to the theory of a monogram of ↯ and ↑, although Delgado, who makes this suggestion, prefers to regard the form as accidental.⁵⁰

which is mentioned in a medieval document (delimitation of bishoprics attributed to Wamba, though possibly a fabrication of the 12th century; see A. Schott, *Hispan. illustr.*, ii, 1603, p. 830) with Penáguila, 15 km. E. of Alcoy on the road to Villajoyosa. Heiss (p. 275) makes the same suggestion, perhaps independently. Alcira has also been proposed (see Delgado, iii, p. 245). Schulten (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1923, p. 1583) suggests Okilis (near Medinaceli), comparing O-lisipo, O-lauro.

⁴⁸ Heiss, pp. 275–6, Pl. XXXVII, 1–3. Delgado, iii, pp. 243–5. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 54, 57, 251. Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 104 *a*, *b*. Hübner, no. 41 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, p. 38.

⁴⁹ *E.g.* specimens at Stockholm, Berlin, and in the V.Q.R. and E.T. Newell collections.

⁵⁰ Hübner (no. 41) compares with this imaginary monogram other strange forms, *e.g.* his no. 25 *a*, as to which see Vives, *Prol.*, p. lxxxv, and no. 85 *c*.

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REGIO OSCENSIS

OSCA

The denarii inscribed **✠MMAM**¹ are the commonest of all Iberian silver coins; according to Hübner ninety out of a hundred are of this kind. They bear the usual types of the Iberian head (but in this case always bearded)² and the mounted lancer (Pl. XXVI, 1 ff.).

There has been much discussion as to the reading of the inscription. The usual form of the first sign³ is: (a) **✠**; (b) ***** is also attested (Pl. XXVI, 2), and of the coins with this form Vives makes a separate issue. But the specimen here illustrated is no earlier than any of the others, and shews both forms, one on the obverse,

¹ Heiss, pp. 152 ff.; Delgado, iii, pp. 325 ff.; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, ii, pp. 60, 257-8, nos. 348-352, 371, 375, 376; Pujol, *epigr.*, n. 154 *a-e*; V.Q.R., nos. 407 f.; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 52, no. 47 (with earlier references); Hunter, iii, pp. 629-30; Vives, ii, p. 102; Haeberlin, p. 41, nos. 171 ff., 47, nos. 24 ff.

² Vives, Pl. XLIII, 3, which he describes as bearing a beardless head, is only a worn specimen of the usual type (it is illustrated in Pl. XXVI, 4).

³ The two signs behind the head are always the same as the initial and final of the word on the reverse, except on the coin described by Pujol *epigr.*, 154 *c* from the Cervera collection. On this there is only o behind the head. Vives, who worked through the Cervera Collection, did not notice it, and a confusion is to be suspected.

the other on the reverse. It is a mere variety of no significance. As to (c) **X**, (d) **⌘**, (e) **⌚** and (f) **H** (Pl. XXVI, 3), (c) is merely a case of the 'blobs' at the ends of the lines not being clearly joined; the others are also doubtless mere variations due to careless engraving. Vives does not recognize their existence at all.

Passing over earlier interpretations such as *Helman(tica)*, we note that Heiss read HLSCN, supplying the vowels to make *Hileoscan*, and recalling the form *Ἰλεόσκη* which he finds in Strabo,⁴ *ιλε* being the word for town (as in many Iberian names), so that *Urbs (Victrix) Osca*, as we find the place called on the Latin coins, would be the translation of *Ἰλεόσκα*. He justifies his reading of the first sign as *h* by the form **H** which takes its place on some issues.⁵

Delgado rejects this for CELSThN or CEL-CHAN. Hübner considers it proved that *Kelsθn* is the right reading. It may be admitted that it has a better case for itself than any other previously proposed, although it cannot be said that either of the equations **X** = *k* and **A** = *θ* is proved with certainty, and no author mentions

⁴ iii, 4, 10, C. 161: *τοῖς περὶ Ἰλέρδαν καὶ Ἰλεόσκαν χωρίοις*, where the reading *Ὀσκαν* (the *ιλε* being regarded as a repetition from *Ἰλέρδαν*) is preferred by all modern editors. Berlanga also transliterates *el(o)sk(a)n*, regarding *el* as the article.

⁵ This form **H** is, as noted above, merely a badly written **X**.

any people of the name of *Celsithani*, which is the name that these Iberian letters are thought to conceal. The *Κελκιανοί*, it is true, are mentioned by Herodorus of Heraclea,⁶ but we know nothing about them either.

Hübner's case being, therefore, unproven, the way is fairly open to accept Gómez-Moreno's transliteration *Bolscan*.⁷ It has the advantage of bringing the Iberian word into close connexion with the Latin name *Oscā*. But a still closer connexion may be attained if we give the **Χ** sign the value not of *bo* but of *ho*. Gómez-Moreno's own system adopts the value *o* for **H**. Now the abbreviations **ΧΜ** and **HΜ** seem to be used in a way so similar as to suggest that they mean the same thing. Thus we find behind the head on the obverse **ΧΜ** at *Oscā*, *Sesars*, *Jaca*, **HΜ** at *Segia* and *Arsaos* and (in combination with another group) on the coins read *Kntan* or *Bentan*.⁸ All these series of coins belong to the same district; and it seems possible that the places

⁶ Steph. Byz., s.v., 'Ιβηρία, p. 323, 1, 17, ed. Meineke: in this order, going north, Gletes, Tartesioi, Elbusinioi, Mastienoi, Kelkianoι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἤδη ὁ 'Ροδανός.

⁷ *Sobre los Iberos y su Lengua* in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, p. 493. I do not know whether he has justified his transliteration, which he mentions in this passage with a 'perhaps.'

⁸ The coin described under *Segobriga* (Hübner, no. 89 f) is subaerate and doubtless an ancient forgery, and need not be considered here.

which used the form **✕** may have aspirated the initial vowel (a relic of the aspiration surviving in the modern name *Huesca*) more than those which used the form **H**. But, as we see under Arsaqos, there is a difficulty in equating **HM** and **✕M**.

The two letters that occur behind the head on the obverse are doubtless the initial and final of the inscription on the reverse. For a similar abbreviation, compare Hübner, 76 *b* (Ti[tiaqo]š). The idea that they stand for *denarius nummus* cannot be entertained.⁹

The identification (first suggested by Lorichs) of these coins with the *argentum oscense* of the Roman writers is supported by the exact repetition of the obverse type on the denarii of Dom. Calvinus with the name OSCA written against it (Pl. XXVI, 9).¹⁰ Zobel thinks that the Romans¹¹ called all the silver captured in Spain *argentum oscense* because, as he supposes, the right of issuing silver was taken away from many mints which had enjoyed it and permitted only to Osca in the sixth century of the Republic.

The denarii with which we are concerned evidently go down to the latest period of the Iberian

⁹ See Mommsen-Blacas, iii, p. 243, note.

¹⁰ Heiss, p. 157; Delgado, iii, p. 322; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 53, no. 47 *a* (*a*); Grueber, *B.M.C., Rom. Rep.*, ii, p. 373; Vives, iv, p. 50, no. 1.

¹¹ The quotations from Livy referring to the booty in *argentum oscense* brought back from Spain in A.V.C. 559, 560 and 574 (B. C. 195, 194 and 180), are collected by Eckhel, *D.N.*, i, p. 4. Cp. Mommsen-Blacas, iii, p. 243.

issues, *i.e.* until late in the first century B.C. When they began is another question. Pl. XXVI, 1 was in the Córdoba Find, and therefore was buried before about 105 B.C. (see *Num. Chron.*, 1925, p. 395); it is in good condition, but had seen some circulation. No specimen of them was found in Camp III at Renieblas, but silver coins, being more often found in hoards than singly, afford no *argumentum ex absentia*; and a specimen of the heavier and earlier bronze, which is of the same style as the better denarii, was found there.¹² If we accept 153 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for coins found in Camp III at Renieblas, we must conclude that these denarii were already in circulation in the second quarter of the second century.

It must, however, be admitted that there seems to be singularly little sign of development in the series; almost any of them might be not far removed from the time of Domitius Calvinus, and it is difficult to give them much more than about a century of development. One is inclined to suspect that Haeblerlin 133 may belong to the second occupation of the camp in 137 B.C. Six other similar bronze aces, and also what appears to be the bronze core of a plated denarius, were found in the Scipionic camps (134–133 B.C.); see Haeblerlin, nos. 171–7.

If then our denarii did not begin much before

¹² Haeblerlin, p. 38, no. 133 = Schulten, *Num.*, IV, p. 242.

the period of the Numantine war, we must accept Zobel's explanation of the term *argentum oscense*.

The denarii of Domitius Calvinus already mentioned (Pl. XXVI, 9), are generally supposed to have been issued by him during his governorship of Spain (39–36 B.C.). The appearance of the head copied from the Iberian denari and labelled Osca has been explained as indicating either the place of mintage, or that his victory over the Cerretani took place in the neighbourhood of the city which is now represented by Huesca. Apart from the type, these denarii show no particular resemblance in style to Iberian denarii; but neither do many other denarii which are generally accepted as having been struck in Spain by military governors. These governors must have employed Roman engravers. Still, it must be admitted that the fact of the coins now in question having been actually struck in Spain has not been definitely proved. It may be mentioned that they are especially rare in Spain;¹³ but they are rare anywhere, and as late as 1910 no find that had been analysed contained specimens.¹⁴

The bronze aces always bear the bearded head (Pl. XXVI, 5, 6); it appears beardless on the semis and quadrans (Pl. XXVI, 7, 8). The aces fall into a heavier and a lighter class, but the heaviest

¹³ Eckhel, *loc. cit.*, quoting Florez.

¹⁴ Grueber, *loc. cit.* (1910).

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do not rise to the heaviest standard which we have noticed at other mints, such as Emporiae and Ilerda, the maximum weight recorded being 12.50 g. (Heiss, no. 4).

The coinage of Imperial date ¹⁵ is of the usual three Emperors; coins of Germanicus are also described,¹⁶ but seem now to be untraceable. The denominations are sestertius or dupondius (of Caligula, Pl. XXVIII, 2),¹⁷ ace, semis and quadrans. A quadrans of Augustus, if rightly read (Pl. XXVII, 2) gives the title *Mun(icipium)* on the obverse, and has the type, unusual except at Emporiae at this period, of a Pegasus. Other coins give the title *Urbs victrix Osca*.

The title P(ater) P(atriae) given to Tiberius on the quadrans (Pl. XXVII, 10), is doubtless a mistake of the engraver. It is well known that Tiberius refused to accept it. The other quadrans on Pl. XXVII, 9, reads P.M.

¹⁵ Heiss, pp. 157–161; Delgado, iii, pp. 322–325; Hübner, no. 47 a; Vives, iv, pp. 50–53.

¹⁶ Heiss, p. 159. Same magistrates as Caligula's. Heiss professes to have found a specimen with the laureate head in the Paris Cabinet, and one with the bare head in that of Madrid.

¹⁷ Weights recorded: 27.95 and 25.50, both at Paris.

IACA

The bronze aces inscribed $\text{M} \text{D} \text{A}$ *iaca* (Pl. XXVIII, 6) are without doubt rightly attributed to Iac(c)a (the modern *Jaca*).¹⁸ The connexion of this place, as of Segia and Sesars, with the mint of the coins inscribed *holscan* was evidently close, since the letters *hon* appear behind the head on all these series of coins. Were it not that the same two letters are found occasionally at far distant mints, it would appear that all these places were members of a tribe or confederation, represented by the name *holscan*.

The coins¹⁹ are all aces of fairly light weight. The bearded head is exactly like that on the coins of *holscan*. The compound letter *ca* is represented in two forms, of which A is commoner than A .

¹⁸ See Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 54; Schulten in P.W.K., *R.E.*, s.v. The confusion between Lacetani and Iacetani in the ancient authors seems almost inextricable. The Iacetani may be identical with the Aquitani (Bosch-Gimpera in *Arch. Anz.*, 1923-4, col. 240).

¹⁹ Heiss, pp. 175-6; Delgado, iii, p. 265; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 60, 257; Pujol, *epigr.*, nos. 110 a, b; Hübner, no. 48 (with earlier references); Vives, ii, p. 120, Pl. XLIX, 1-4.

SEGIA

The coins inscribed $\text{S} \text{E} \text{J} \text{D}$, *seg(i)a*²⁰ are generally supposed to represent *Segia*, which Pliny²¹ mentions under the *conventus* of Caesaraugusta, Ptolemy²² in the territory of the Vascones, and the Ravennas²³ on the road from Caesaraugusta to Pompaelo. The site is generally supposed to be *Ejea de los Caballeros*. The coins²⁴ certainly have a general resemblance to those of Osca, Iaca, etc.

They fall into three main series;²⁵ it is difficult to say which are the earlier. They are classed

²⁰ The value *gi* given to J in Gómez-Moreno's system is supported by the Latin form *Segia*.

²¹ iii, 24: *Iluberitanos, Lacetanos, Libienses, Pompelonenenses, Segienses*.

²² ii, 6, 66; all the MSS., however, favour *Σeria*. Cortés y Lopez suggested the accepted reading; and the identification mentioned in the text. See Müller's note, where he suggests that the name of the place is preserved in *C.I.L.*, 2981 (found near Ejea) in the word QVVISAEGIENSI.

²³ 311, 10, P. where the text has *Segla*.

²⁴ Heiss, p. 179; Delgado, iii, pp. 370-1; Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 60, 63, 257, 259, Pl. 5, 2-4; Pujol in *Bol. de la acad.*, iii, 1883, p. 71 [not accessible to me] and *epigr.*, no. 164 a-d; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 54, no. 49 (with earlier references); Vives, ii, pp. 100-1.

²⁵ As Vives himself remarks, his 'fourth issue' is perhaps only a worn specimen of another.

here in the same order as is given by Vives.²⁶ The head is always bearded.²⁷

In the first series, denarius, ace and semis (Pl. XXVIII, 7-9), the letters **HM** (*on*) appear behind the head, in the same position as **XM** (*hon*) at Osca, Iaca, Sesars, etc. **HM** (*on*) occurs also in the same way on the coins inscribed *arsaos*, *kntan-knqd*, *uzan aθ*, and *arsaqos*. When these last read *arsaqoson* continuously on the reverse, then *on* does not appear alone on the obverse.²⁸ It looks therefore as if it were a suffix, and therefore not, as Hübner supposes, the equivalent of the group **XM**, which never seems to play the part of a suffix. This opposes a difficulty to the partial equation of **XM** with **HM** suggested above (under Osca); and in any case we cannot, with Hübner, equate **HM** with **XM** and take **H** for *k* rather than *h* or *o*. In the second series there is a dolphin behind the head (Pl. XXVIII, 10, 11).

In the series which is here placed third there are aces of a heavy standard (Pl. XXIX, 1) as well as those of the usual light weight. They represent that short-lived raising of the standard

²⁶ Two specimens (one fair, the other less good) of Pl. XXVIII 8 or 9 were found in the Scipionic camp at Peña Redonda, at Numantia (Haeberlin, nos. 178-9).

²⁷ Vidal Quadras y Ramon, nos. 431 and 432, are described as having a beardless head, but they are worn specimens.

²⁸ Vives has misread his no. 3 on p. 118 (Vol. II).

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which may have accompanied the reorganization of Spain after the fall of Numantia. On this series there are two dolphins behind the head.

SESARS

The coins (Pl. XXIX, 2-7) inscribed $\{\Psi\}PQ\{\}$, which it is now generally agreed to read as above, evidently, by their style, their types (note the use of the Pegasus for the semis, as at Gallicum and Osca), and the use of the group of letters $\times M$ behind the head on the obverse, belong to the same group as Osca, Iaca, Gallicum and Segia.²⁹

The identification of the mint is quite uncertain.³⁰

The form which in this word is generally transliterated *e* is unparalleled, but this fact seems to have disturbed no one. It may be that, being a doubled form of ϵ , it represents a long or

²⁹ Heiss, p. 178, Pl. XVIII; Delgado, iii, pp. 381-3; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, Pl. IV, 9, v, pp. 60, 62, 257, 259; Berlanga, *Hisp. anterom.*, p. 219; Pujol in *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, V, 1884, p. 352; *epigr.*, no. 166 a-e; Hübner, *M.L.I.*, no. 51 (with earlier references); Vives, ii, pp. 163-4.


³⁰ Some of the suggestions are: *Sesa*, 20 km. S. of Huesca, on the Guatizemela; *Sisaraca* (Ptol., ii, 6, 51; but the correct reading is perhaps Pisoraca); *Sessorienses*, read in one MS. for *Gessorienses* in Pliny, iii, 23 (but as Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. 55, points out, his emendation of *Iessonenses* is preferable); *Tolosa* at *Puebla de Castro* (Zobel's suggestion, which is in the right locality, but for which there seems to be no other reason).

doubled *e*, although this is not accepted by Hübner. At the neighbouring Segia, *e* takes the usual form; so does *s*, which here has a deceptively archaic appearance.³¹

There is nothing unusual in the types, except the employment of the Pegasus on the semis, already noted. Vives describes a quinarius as having the initial of the town behind the head on the obverse; this sign is not visible on the specimen here published (Pl. XXIX, 3), or in his own illustration.

As to the date of the issues we have nothing to go by except comparison with other issues of the district, and the fact that an ace (Haeberlin, no. 134) was found in Camp III at Renieblas, and is therefore presumably earlier than 153 B.C.

GALLICUM

The identification of this place as the mint of the coins³² inscribed  *kligom* (Pl. XXIX, 8-13), seems acceptable. Up till recently there has been a general agreement³³ that the first sign is a guttural, and probably something like *k*,

³¹ There is great variety in the form of *s* at all times; see Hübner, *M.L.I.*, p. xlv.

³² Heiss, p. 177; Delgado, iii, pp. 316-8; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, p. 278; v, pp. 61, 63, 257, 259; Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 106 *a-c*. Vives, ii, p. 104.

³³ See the discussion in *M.L.I.*, p. li.

though Iberian seems to be already well supplied with other forms for such sounds. It occurs before *l*, *r* and *n*; possibly it carries with it an *a*. We should thus have *kaligom*. *Gallicum* is the name given in the Antonine Itinerary (451, 3) to a post on the road from Caesaraugusta to Osca, which by the distances must have been at or near the present *Zuera*. As Zobel records, there was found at *Zuera* in 1860 a hoard of some 90 aces,³⁴ of which one was of *Osca*, and all the rest of *Kligom*. This, as he says, justifies the supposition that the mint of the latter was at or near *Zuera*. Hübner agrees that the style of these coins, so similar to that of the coins of *Osca* and *Iaca*, proves that they belong to this neighbourhood, but doubts whether *Gallicum* can be regarded as an old Iberian name, altered by the Romans from an Iberian form *k(a)ligom*. Probably no philologist would care to argue that one is the true counterpart of the other, but that the Roman form should be a popular distortion of the Iberian it is easy to believe.

By Gómez-Moreno, however,³⁵ the word is read *Beligiom*, the first sign being the syllable *be*,³⁶

³⁴ Were there denarii among the hoard? It is significant that in 1860 Count de Salis presented two denarii (nos. 1, 2) to the British Museum. A great many finds from all parts of Europe passed through his hands.

³⁵ *Sobre los Iberos y su lengua* in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, p. 494.

³⁶ This interpretation of the sign may seem attractive in

the third the syllable *gi*. He goes further, explaining "Beligiom, los Belos," by whom he presumably means the Βελλοί, a Celtiberian tribe neighbouring on the Arevaci.³⁷ The chief stronghold of the Belli was Segeda, the fortification of which in 153 caused the outbreak of the Celtiberian war; and as Schulten observes, it probably lay on the upper Jalón, in the neighbourhood of *Medinaceli*. The find of coins at Zuera would be difficult to explain if the mint were so far away.

The denarii vary in having either the first letter, or the first two letters of the reverse inscription repeated on the obverse (Pl. XXIX, 8, 9). Vives accordingly divides them into two *emisiones*. The aces (Pl. XXIX, 10) and semisses (Pl. XXIX, 11) show a wide range of weights, indicating issue over a fairly long period. The semis, like that of Osca, bears a Pegasus as its reverse type. The lowest denomination is the triens³⁸ (Pl. XXIX, 12).

cases such as *adabels* (or *atabels*) and *iscorbeleš* (or *isgorbeleš*) on coins of the Indigetæ (above) and *belaišcom* (Hübner, no. 83), since compounds of *bel* seem to be common in Iberian (Gómez-Moreno, *ibid.*, p. 490). But it is otherwise difficult to accept.

³⁷ Schulten, *Numantia*, i, p. 139.

³⁸ Vives calls it a quadrans; on his specimen, as on that illustrated here, one of the pellets is off the flan; but there are other specimens which show all four units (*e.g.* in the collections of E. T. Newell and Stockholm (3.38 g. = Lorichs, Pl. XXIII, 4 = Heiss, Pl. XVIII, 4 = Delgado, Pl. CLVI, 5).

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A solitary ace described by Vives (here Pl. XXIX, 13) shows the head on the obverse surrounded by three dolphins. It is unfortunately in bad condition, and it is difficult to decide whether it precedes or follows the other series.

REGIO POMPAELONENSIS

VASCONES

The coins ¹ inscribed **IMOMES** or **IMOMES** come from the district of Aragón-Navarre, and are allied by type and by the inscription on the obverse with the *Kontan-kongoda* series. The interpretation of **I** as *ba* or *va*, coupled with that of **◊** (of which **⊙** is only a more cursive form) as *cu*, which seems to be due to Gómez-Moreno,² gives us Va(r)scunes—than which nothing except Vascones itself could be more suitable. I have adopted the form in —o—. It will be observed

¹ De Saulcy, p. 57, nos. 52–4. Lorichs, Pl. II, nos. 1–11; III, 1–5. Boudard, p. 217, Pl. XXII, 1–7. Heiss, pp. 185–7, Pl. XX, XXI, 1–11. Delgado, III, pp. 269–72, Pl. CXLVII–CXLVIII, 1–8, pp. 291–2; Pl. CLIII, 1–5. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, IV, Pl. VII, 6; V, pp. 64, 67, p. 261, nos. 380–399, p. 265, no. 434. Pujol, *epigr.*, nos. 122 *a–g*, 123 *a–e*. Hübner, no. 54 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 107–9. The coin illustrated by Heiss, Pl. XX, 3, is either a barbarous imitation with blundered legends, or misread. The A in the field of the rev. of his Pl. XXI, 11 (taken from Lorichs, Pl. II, 1) may also be misread.

² *Sobre los Iberos*, p. 493.

that on these coins, as on those of the series *Kontan-konquda*, the rider is bare-headed, the *Vasco insuetus galeae*, in fact, of Silius Italicus (iii, 358).

An attempt has been made here to arrange the various issues roughly in chronological order. The longer form of the inscription comes first (Pl. XXX, 1-2). The tendency in language and script being towards simplification, it is more probable that the *r* should have been dropped than added in the course of development.³ Simi-

³ As to this *r*, whether elided in the shorter form of the inscription or intrusive in the longer, Mr. Roderick McKenzie writes as follows (28 June 1930):

"The Čechs have a sound (written ř) which is intermediate between *r* and *z*. The Polish corresponding sound seems to have lost its *r* character and is pronounced ž (like *s* in pleasure) but continues to be written *rz*. It is believed that the sound which the Umbrians denoted by *q* and in Latin letters by *rs* (less exactly by *s*) was of the same nature as the Čech ř (Brugmann, *Grundriss* I², pp. 85, 534). I do not know whether a sound which partakes of the character of *r* and *s* actually exists but it would hardly be more strange from one point of view than the Čech ř is.

"Another possibility is that BARSCUNES contains a real and separate *r* which was beginning, at the date when your coins were struck, to disappear. It does not seem impossible that the Barscunes had, like the Romans, a dislike of the sequence vowel + *r* + *sk*, etc., and expelled the *r* (cf. *posco* < *pŕk-skō*, *Tuscus* < Umbr. *Turskum*, *tostus* < **lorstus* (Skt. *tṛṣṭás*), and other instances given in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.* ⁵, p. 163). On the other hand the Barscunes may have spoken a language in which

larly, towards the end of the series, the letter \odot is simplified to \circ (Pl. XXX, 6). Pl. XXX, 1—which is extraordinarily close in style to certain coins of the Arsaos group—shows also the early form of *e* with three arms.

The silver coins (Pl. XXX, 5, 6) all have the shorter form of the inscription, and also the four letters RMXX on the obverse behind the head. The transition to this arrangement is given by one or two rare bronze coins (Pl. XXX, 2), which have the four letters on the obverse, but the longer form of the name; Pl. XXX, 3, which has the shorter form of the name, but no letters on the obverse (instead, a plough), and Pl. XXX, 4, which has the same arrangement as the denarii.

What the group RMXX represents can only be guessed. Since it is common to two series (the other having the inscription RMVDM), it is possible that it may be the name of the mint at which two tribes, one of which would be the Vascones, struck their money. And that mint may have been Pompaelo, the earlier name of which has not come down to us. As to *Kontan*, Zobel suggests that the name of the *mansio* near Pompaelo mentioned by the Ravennas under the name of *Carta* may be miswritten for *Canta*.

this sequence caused as little difficulty as in German (*forschen*) or English (*thirst*). I do not see how one can decide confidently between these alternatives."

Another possible parallel may be found in the sound which on the Kushan coins is represented first by PΣ or PC, and later by a special form ḅ .



LIBIAQOS

The unique coin inscribed **LIBIAQOS** was generally accepted as genuine, until Vives, who succeeded in tracing the specimen on which so much had been based, decided that it is an evident forgery.⁴ The types are similar to those of Arsaos, but on the obverse, on either side of the head, is (in addition to dolphin and plough) a tetrascelic arrangement of two crossed dolphins (?).

It must be admitted that, whatever the existing specimen may be, the chances of its being a pure invention are somewhat small; and we may therefore assume that it is based on some genuine original.

If we read *libiacos* with Gómez-Moreno, the assumed original coins would have been issued by a place called Libia. Neither the city of the Cerretani, the modern *Llivia*, nor the Beronian city now *Leiva* in Rioja, is suitable by its situation; but Pliny (*N.H.*, iii, 24) mentions a place of the name in the conventus of Caesaraugusta, which

⁴ *Prólogo*, pp. lxxxiii f. It was published first by Gaillard, *Catal. de Garcia de la Torre*, p. 84, no. 1334 (inaccessible to me), from whom it was repeated by Heiss, *Libia* or *Oliba*, Pl. 32; Delgado, *Livia*, Pl. CX; Zobel, in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 67, 69; Hübner, no. 55. Gómez-Moreno, *Sobre los Iberos y su lengua* in *Hom. a Men. Pidal*, iii, p. 487, also mentions it (reading *libiacos*), though noting that it is doubtful.

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would be possible. Two *Libenses* appear in the turma Salluitana of the Ascoli decree.

ARSAOS

The fairly common coins⁵ inscribed **PAΣDHΣ** (with insignificant variations in the direction of the *r* and *s* and occasionally a miswriting of the penultimate letter as N)⁶ are connected by their style etc. with other issues attributed to the *regio Pompaelonensis* (Aragón-Navarre). Hardly any of the mints in this district are to be identified. Arsa is a not uncommon name or name-element in Iberian, but there is no evidence for its occurrence in the region mentioned. A statement repeated from Sestini by various writers, that a hoard found in 1618 near Castulo consisted of silver and bronze coins of this mint, is in-

⁵ Heiss, p. 248. Delgado, iii, pp. 24–28. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 66, 69, 263–5. Pujol in *Rev. cienc. hist.*, ii, 1880–1, p. 562 and in *Bol. Acad.*, v, 1884, p. 354; *epigr.*, no. 65. Hübner, *M.L.I.*, no. 52 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 111–114.

⁶ I assume that the second letter is really *r*. Zobel gives one example (412), on which its place is taken by **Q**, which would prove the point. Pujol (*epigr.*, no. 65 *b*) has probably copied Zobel. Zobel may have used a coin such as Delgado, Pl. XC, 8 or 12, on which the **Π** is worse formed than usual. Hübner does not discuss the form, merely enumerating it and others as varieties of *r*.

correct;⁷ so that there is no reason for assigning them to a district from which their style manifestly excludes them. Nor does anyone still hold to those transliterations of the legend which would indicate a connexion with Bursao (in the neighbourhood of Cascantum, Graccurreis and Calagurreis, probably the modern *Borja*) or the Bursavolenses of Baetica (*Bell. Hisp.* 22).⁸ Zobel guesses at *Suissatio* as the mint (now *Iruña* near Vitoria).

On the denarii and aces (Pl. XXX, 7–10) we find the usual types of the Iberian head and rider. The head is probably always bearded; supposed beardless specimens are probably merely worn.⁹ The rider's weapon is not, as usual, a spear,¹⁰ but a short instrument, pointed with barbs like an arrow or javelin, but without feathering, and held

⁷ Velazquez, *Ensayo*, p. 123, illustrates the pot in which it was found (see *M.L.I.*, no. XLI); for the coins, which comprised 683 Roman denarii and only 8 Iberian, see *Annali dell' Instituto*, XXXV, 1863, pp. 11 sq. The Iberian denarii were of Aregrat, Castulo, Arsaos, Vascones, Knthrp, Iclonekn (2) and Ilerda.

⁸ On these homonyms see Schulten in *Hermes*, 63, p. 288.

⁹ Pace Pujol, *Rev. cienc. hist.*, ii, p. 562.

¹⁰ It is true that Pujol, *Rev. cienc. hist.*, ii, p. 563, no. 30, describes an ace in the Mus. Arqueol. as having a spearman; but Vives does not record having seen it. Vives himself describes a specimen with the spearman from another source, but so far as we can judge from his illustration (made from a rubbing), the weapon is the usual javelin-headed one. Sestini's description (*Med. Isp.*, p. 113, no. 5) is a mistranslation of Mionnet.

by the end of the shaft. It is not usual to wield a javelin in this way, but the Spaniards may have had a peculiar way of flinging it.¹¹ The only other coin on which this weapon occurs is that reading *lipaqs* (or *libiaqos*), the genuineness of which is doubtful (see above).

One issue of the ace (Pl. XXX, 8) shows the letters **HM** (*on*, perhaps for *olscan*) on the obverse, not as usual behind the head but under the chin. Zobel (no. 419) and others mention a denarius with **HM** behind the head; I have been unable to trace a specimen, and it is not recorded by Vives.

The semis is very rare (Vives, Pl. XLVII; *rev.* horse, with crescent enclosing pellet above), and so is the triens or quadrans (*ibid.*, Pl. XLVII, 12; Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. V, 10; *rev.* horse with crescent enclosing saltire above). The degenerate denarius illustrated here (Pl. XXX, 10) from the Paris specimen is probably a copy by some hand still more barbarous than that which produced the ordinary coinage; the supposed **M** below the neck is probably meaningless.

There were no less than nine specimens of this bronze coinage found in the Scipionic camps at Numantia (Haeberlin, nos. 181–189).

¹¹ Various incorrect renderings of the weapon may be found in Lorichs and elsewhere; in one case it is represented like a cross-bow. Sandars (*Weapons of the Iberians*, p. 67 f.) describes the ordinary Iberian javelin; he calls the weapon in question a bipennis or throwing weapon. The former it almost certainly is not.

KONQODA—KONTAN

The second inscription 𐌲𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴 is transliterated *ontan* (Delgado), *ontzan*¹² (Heiss), *kontan* (Zobel), *kntan* (Hübner), *bentian* or *bendian* (Gómez-Moreno). The first 𐌲𐌴𐌹𐌸𐌴 (which these coins share with those of the Vascones) according to Gómez-Moreno's system, would be *bencota* (in which for the *c* and *t* might be substituted *g* and *d*). But his interpretation of the first sign as *be*, instead of the commonly accepted guttural, is open to serious objection.

The coins¹³ (Pl. XXX, 11–13) according to Heiss are found near Borja (the ancient Bursao), in the neighbourhood of which and of Mallen are also found those of the Vascones (see above). In style they bear close resemblance to those bearing the inscription Arsaos, which, as we have seen, has also been connected with Bursao. If the provenance vaguely mentioned by Heiss refers only to silver coins, it is not of much importance, since these Iberian denarii seem to have had a wide circulation. Delgado points out that the coins must be considered as Vasconian, and that

¹² *Ainzon* is the modern name of an ancient spot between 3 and 4 km. from Borja.

¹³ Boudard, p. 291, Pl. XXXVII, 11. Heiss, p. 184, Pl. XX, 1–3 (AINTZON). Delgado, iii, pp. 318–9, Pl. CLVI, 1–4. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 65, 67, Pl. V, 7 (*c*), pp. 260–1, nos. 400–404. Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 107. Hübner, no. 53 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 106–7.

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the Vascones did not reach as far as Borja. Other speculations may be read in Hübner, pp. 57–8.

The rider on the denarii and on most of the bronze wields a short weapon, probably a sword, of a straight type. The coins of the Vascones show the same weapon.¹⁴ Aces on which the rider carries a spear are also known.¹⁵ On one of these aces for the usual inscription of the obverse is substituted **℞** behind the head and **HM** in front.¹⁶ The same four letters occur in combination on coins of Uzan (see below). The word **℞XIM** on coins of Emporion (see above) is not necessarily connected with this.

COELIOQOS

The inscription **Θ℞IMHXM**, according to Gómez-Moreno's system, must be transliterated *cueliocos* or *-gos*; according to the values adopted in these notes, *coelioqos*. By most previous writers, the word has been connected with *Ούέλεια*,

¹⁴ Sandars, *Weapons of the Iberians*, Pl. I, 15.

¹⁵ Vives, Pl. XLIV, 3 & 7 (Cervera Collection).

¹⁶ Vives, Pl. XLIV, 7 (Cervera Coll.). Pujol remarks, on the specimen known to him, that the *e* is not visible. Vives's illustration of the Cervera specimen, from a paper rubbing, does not enable us to check this point; but the engraving in Zobel, Pl. V, 7, perhaps representing the identical coin, confirms the **℞**.

Velia¹⁷ or Belegia¹⁸ or Beleia;¹⁹ the situation of the place is said to correspond to Estavillo, about six km. north of Miranda de Ebro.²⁰ Hübner objects that this is some distance (67 m.p. according to the Itinerary) from Pompaelo, to the region of which the coins are attributed on account of their style. I can find no name allied to the form which results from either Gómez-Moreno's or my own reading. The *-qos* is presumably an adjectival termination.

The coins²¹ can be roughly arranged in two groups. The earlier (Pl. XXXI, 1-3), is represented by the ace and two smaller denominations, oddly marked : and ::. The style of the head on the ace is strikingly similar to that which we have placed earliest in the series of the Vascones. Here again our order is confirmed by the early form of *e*, with three strokes.

¹⁷ Plin., *N.H.*, III, 26 (in the Conventus Cluniensis). Ptol., II, 6, 64.

¹⁸ *Anon. Rav.*, p. 318, 7.

¹⁹ *Itin. Ant.*, 454, 8.

²⁰ Distinct, of course, is Ptolemy's Βέλεια (ii, 6, 62) which, according to Müller, is identified with *Belchile*, 49 km. by road S. of Saragossa. Saulcy (p. 80) is wide of the mark in saying that Velia of the Caristi (Ptol., II, 6, 64) was on the sea; Ptolemy himself says it was an inland town.

²¹ Heiss, pp. 239-240, Pl. XXX, 1-5. Delgado, iii, pp. 423-4, Pl. CLXXXIV-CLXXXV, nos. 1-5. Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 64, 68, 262-3, nos. 406-9, pp. 264-5, nos. 435, 436, 438. Pujol, *epigr.*, nos. 185 *a-d*. Hübner, no. 56 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 121-2.

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Vives describes the two smaller denominations as semis and quadrans. If the pellets are marks of value, according to an inverted system (in which the number of pellets indicates the denominator and not the numerator of the fraction), the \cdot would represent $1/2$ and $\cdot\cdot$ $1/4$, so that the smaller denomination would be a triens. Such an inverted system of expressing fractions is not inconceivable among a semi-barbarous people imperfectly understanding the Roman system. The semis of Caiscada (see p. 169) is also marked with two pellets.

The later group contains only aces.

The type of the semis is, as usual, a horse; that of the quadrans or triens is borrowed from Emporiae or some other seacoast mint.

TIRSOS

The reading of these rare coins²² is well established by the two specimens of one of which the obv., of the other the rev., are illustrated on Pl. XXXI, 5, as $\Psi\phi\{H\}$ or $\Psi\phi\{H\}$. The various forms of the s which have been given by others, as by Pujol, in publishing the specimen from the

²² Lorichs, Pl. XXX, 3. Heiss, p. 293, Pl. XLI, 1. Delgado, iii, p. 431, Pl. CLXXXV. Campaner in *M.N.E.*, iv, 1877-9, p. 19, Pl. I, 3. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 64, 68 f., 263, nos. 410-11, Pl. V, 8. Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, IV, 1884, p. 328; *epigr.*, no. 172 a, b. Hübner, no. 57. Vives, ii, p. 143.

Gil collection, by Zobel in his list of inscriptions, and by Vives in his text, are all doubtful. On the other hand, the engravings in Lorichs, Zobel's Plate V, 8 and Campaner, are correct.

Campaner attributed the coins to Tyris or Turis (*Vinaroz*); Zobel, more suitably to the district to which the coins are supposed to belong, to Iturissa (Ptol., II, 6, 66 and Rav., 311, 14), the Turissa of the *Itin. Ant.* (455, 6) on the way from Pompaelo to the station *In Summo Pyrenaeo*, and (according to the generally received opinion) now represented by *Ituren*, although there is reason to suppose that it was at *Espinal*.^{22a} Hübner's objection that *Iturissa* is too different from the Iberian form is met if we assume that the initial *i* is the redundant Iberian prefix,²³ as indeed the alternative form Turisa (of the *Itin.*) shows; while *os* is the same termination as in *arsaos*.

On the coins which can now be controlled, the rider carries a palm-branch. Pujol's description of the specimen from the Gil collection as having a rider carrying a lance seems therefore to be doubtful.

^{22a} Dr. H. Thomas calls my attention to the identification of *Espinal* with Turisa, for which reasons are given by Julio Attadil in *Homenaje a D. Carmelo de Echegaray*, San Sebastian, 1928, p. 504, and which can be supported by other evidence which it is to be hoped he will publish before long.

²³ As in *Ἰασπις* = Aspis.

UZAN—AΘ

A more than usually difficult inscription $\uparrow T \triangleright N \triangleright \Diamond$ is provided by the reverse of the rare coin illustrated on Pl. XXXI, 6.²⁴ The second letter T was taken by Heiss, Delgado and Zobel for t ; since it comes next to Ψ in the only other coin-legend in which it occurs, Hübner prefers to differentiate it, and regard it as z . Gómez-Moreno leaves the question undecided. The third and the penultimate letter, \triangleright , are the same, a , as appears from the specimen here illustrated. Hübner and others are wrong in saying that there are two forms of this letter in this word.²⁵ The first letter is certainly \uparrow .²⁶ Following the fourth letter which is certainly N , all previous writers have read I (*i.e.* \dot{i} according to Hübner, ba or ma according to Gómez-Moreno, va according to the system which I have adopted for the purpose of these notes). What is present, however, is not that sign, but rather the right

²⁴ Lorichs, Pl. XXXII, 1. Heiss, p. 249, Pl. XXXVII, 1. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 64, 68, 203, no. 405. Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 184 *a*, *b*. Hübner, no. 58. Vives, II, p. 128.

²⁵ Zobel read the penultimate letter rather as \uparrow (l) than as a , but the majority of opinions is against him. Making the name Ottanialtha he connected it with Ottaviolca of the Cantabrians (Ptol., II, 6, 50); which name, however, as Hübner after Humboldt observes, is probably based on the Latin Octavius.

²⁶ The specimen in the Ashmolean Museum, among others, decides this.

hand upright of a frame enclosing the inscription. The last two letters then would not belong to the main inscription, but would have to be read separately. Gómez-Moreno would give the value *te* or *de* to the last letter.

The reading of the letters **EXHM** on the obverse is certain. Speculation about their meaning is at present idle; see above, p. 144.

In style the only known ace²⁷ comes close to the earliest issues of the Vascones, etc. The horseman carries a sickle-shaped weapon or hook.²⁸ Sandars identifies the similar weapon on other coins (his Pl. I, no. 5) as the *espada falcata*; but it has a much greater curve than that weapon, of which many specimens are extant.

REGIO TURIASONENSIS

TURIASO

There can be no doubt that the Latin *Turiaso*, the name of the municipium on the site of the present *Tarazona*, corresponds to the Iberian **ΔΟΜΠΣΑ**, which is read on an extensive series of coins.¹ The initial dental is usually exactly of

²⁷ Vives's variety with a beardless head is very doubtful.

²⁸ So Vives calls it a *gancho*; which is at least more correct than Heiss's *casse-tête* (tomahawk) or Hübner's arrow.

¹ Delgado says they are common near Zaragoza and in the Province of Soria, but more difficult to acquire elsewhere.

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the form of the Greek *delta* (an exception is the archaic looking inscription on Pl. XXXII, 2) but, as Hübner points out (*Prolegomena*, p. XLVII), it nevertheless contains the *u*. Whether the Iberians pronounced it as *d* or as *t* we cannot say; probably the sound was half-way between those two. It is to be noted that the form *Τουριασσώ* (Ptol., II, 6, 57; cp. *Turiassonensis* from a Bordeaux inscr. quoted by Hübner and other examples given by Heiss, p. 190) is paralleled by the Iberian form with double *s*, on the Hunterian denarius.²

The Iberian issues³ are denarii, quinarii,⁴ aces and semisses, which Vives has classified elaborately. The main varieties are illustrated on Plates XXXI, XXXII; but varieties of which it has not been possible to obtain satisfactory casts are the following:

² Macdonald, III, p. 631, no. 2.

³ Heiss, pp. 190–2, Pl. XXII, 1–10. Delgado, iii, pp. 405–6, Pl. CLXXIX–CLXXX. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, iv, Pl. IV, 25; VII, 7 & 8. *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 70–72, Pl. V, 11, 12; VI, 1–5 bis; pp. 268–271, nos. 439–60, 475–7. Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, v, 1884, p. 353; vi, 1885, p. 336; *epigr.*, nos. 171 *a–g*. Hübner, no. 60 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 123–128.

⁴ The quinarii are very scarce; Pujol (*Bol. Acad.*, v, p. 353) mentions three, the weights of two of which he gives as 2 gr. 40 and 3 gr. 30.

Denarius

- (1) Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. V, 12; ☉ behind the head on obv., cp. Vives, no. 26. A barbarous imitation, and too badly worn to be worth reproduction here.

Quinarii

- (2) Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. VI, 5 bis. **ΛΜΔ** on obv.; horse with star in crescent above on rev. (repeated by Vives, no. 7).
- (3) Vives, no. 1, Pl. LI, 1. **ΛΜ** on obv., on rev. horseman holding up a wreath and leading a second horse (Cervera Coll.). Cp. Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, vi, 336, no. 70, Pl. VII.
- (4) Vives, no. 4, Pl. LI, 4. Head of Roma between **Λ** and **Δ**; rev., horseman with palm leading a second horse (Cervera Coll.).

Aces

- (5) Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. VI, 1 = Vives, no. 11, Pl. LI, 10. **ΛΜΔ** and three dolphins around *bearded* head on obv. (Cervera Coll.).
- (6) Vives, no. 10, Pl. CLXXII, 10. **ΛΜΔ** and two dolphins; head beardless.

Semis

- (7) Vives, no. 17, from Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. VI, 4. **Λ** behind head on obv.; *rev.* Pegasus.

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Among the types, attention may be called to the head of Roma on the semis (Pl. XXXII, 4). For the usual spear of the rider, on the aces, a small group (cp. Pl. XXXII, 2) substitutes a hooked weapon, evidently similar to that carried by the rider on the coins of *Uzan* (see above) and *Hilauca*. I illustrate a specimen of a very curious style; it is possible that it may be a Vasconian imitation.

The coins of Turiaso with Latin inscriptions⁵ belong to the time of Augustus and Tiberius. It is usual to place first the coins inscribed SILBIS (Pl. XXXII, 5, 6) and to suppose that this is an earlier name for Turiaso. How this interpretation is to be squared with the identification of the Iberian $\Delta \diamond \text{M} \text{P} \text{S} \uparrow$ with Turiaso it is difficult to say. The head inscribed SILBIS is also supposed to resemble Livia, and so is the head which appears on coins of Augustus (Pl. XXXII, 7). The two heads are however unlike each other, not merely in features; the former is wreathed, the latter has no wreath, but plaits of hair hanging down behind which have been mistaken for the ties of a wreath. The equestrian figure on the reverse of the Silbis coins is certainly an Emperor, presumably Augustus. The head inscribed Silbis has a general resemblance to

⁵ Heiss, pp. 193–6, Pl. XXII–XXIII, 11–30. Delgado, iii, pp. 406–413, Pl. CLXXX–CLXXXIII. Hübner, no. 60 a (with earlier references). Vives, iv, pp. 89–96.

those of *Iustitia* and *Salus Augusta*, less to that of *Pietas* ⁶ on coins of Tiberius, which are usually supposed to be idealised heads of Livia. On the other hand, a coin illustrated in the *Thesaurus Morellianus*, Pl. XXXVII, 26,⁷ shows a veiled head, like that of *Pietas*, inscribed TVRIASO. The head inscribed Turiaso on Pl. XXXII, 7, much coarser in workmanship, is also less idealised, has some character, and may be meant for a portrait of Livia.⁸ Then the Silbis head must be explained as the head of a local nymph or other minor deity.

The magistrates' names found on the coins of Augustus and Tiberius are the following:

Augustus: M. Caecil(ius) Severus, G. Val(erius) Aquilus,⁹ duoviri (Pl. XXXIII, 1). L. Marius, L. Novius, duoviri (Pl. XXXIII, 2, 3). L. Feneste(l)a, L. Seranus, duoviri. Tiberius: M' Sulpicius Lucanus, M. Sempromius Fronto (or Frontinus), duoviri (Pl. XXXIII, 7, 8). C. Caecilius Sere(nus?), M. Valerius Quadratus, duoviri (Pl. XXXIII, 9, 10). M. Pontius Marsus, G. Marius

⁶ *B.M.C. Rom. Imp.*, i, Pl. 24, 1, 2, 7.

⁷ The *Thesaurus* claims to have copied it from the seventh Dialogue of Agustin, but I have failed to verify this.

⁸ See Delgado, iii, p. 412 on the objections to this identification for the wreathed head; nevertheless Livia was, we know, represented in disguise before she was openly honoured.

⁹ Often misread *Aquinus*.

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Vegetus, duoviri (Pl. XXXIV, 1). L. Caecilius Aquinus, M. Cel(sius?) Palud(atus?), duoviri ¹⁰ (Pl. XXXIV, 2). G. Marius Vegetus, Licinius Cres(cens?),¹¹ aediles (Pl. XXXIV, 3). T. Sulpicius, Q. Pontius Pla(ncus?), aediles (Pl. XXXIV, 4). Rectus et Macrinus, aediles Pl. XXXIV, 5).

It will be observed that G. Marius Vegetus appears both as aedile and as duumvir. Under Augustus, both aces and semisses were struck by duoviri, and the aediles do not seem to have issued coins. Under Tiberius, as usual, the duoviri strike the aces, the aediles the semisses; but who was responsible for the sestertii or dupondii (Pl. XXXIII, 4) does not appear.

It would be interesting if the duovir whose name appears as *L. Feneste.*, could be identified with the historical antiquary Fenestella, but there is no evidence that the latter was a Spaniard, and the praenomen Lucius which is sometimes given to him also lacks confirmation.

The following countermarks have been observed:

¹⁰ Hübner completes the nomen Cel(lius), with Cel(sinus) as an alternative, also suggesting Gel(lius) as possible (in which he was preceded by Agustin, *Dial.*, 1587, p. 276); but although on some specimens a G is possible, most of the coins support the reading C. Florez and others read Cel(ius).

¹¹ Crespus is also possible.

Eagle's head.

TR (Turiaso). Florez, ii, Pl. XLVII, 1 and 9.

A Florez, ii, Pl. XLVII, 8; Delgado, Pl. CLXXXII, 29.

A Pl. XXXIII, 10.

AL Heiss, Pl. XXIII, 22 (read as **VL**).

The types are of no special interest. The bull does not, as a rule, appear before Tiberius; but the *Thesaurus Morellianus* (*Num. Fam., Caec.*, Pl. III, 9) illustrates an ace of Augustus struck by the duovirs M. Caecilius Severus, G. Valerius Aquilus, with this type.

CAIŠCATA-CASCANTVM

There is now a fairly general agreement to accept the identity of *Caišcata* or *Caišcada*, as the inscription **ANMAX** must be read, with Cascantum, the municipium which is mentioned by Pliny as enjoying the old Latin right.¹² The place is still called *Cascante*, about 12 km. N. of *Tarazona* (Turiaso) and 10 S. of *Tudela*. The *n* in the Iberian inscription is doubtless absent by *anousvara*.

¹² *N.H.*, iii, 24: *Latinorum veterum Cascantenses, Ergavincenses, Graccurritanos, Leonicensis, Ossigerdenses*. Hübner observes that the form *Cascantum*, which is what the municipal coinage bears, might be a genitive plural. But the Iberian form does not favour this view.

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The coins¹³ of the pre-Imperial period are divided by Vives into two issues; the ace which he describes as of decadent style is placed first in our arrangement (Pl. XXXIV, 6). With it he associates a quadrans (or triens, as to which see below), but his illustration of the Cervera specimen from a paper rubbing belies his description, for the coin appears to be similar to that in our Pl. XXXIV, 8, with a dotted annulet above a prancing horse and without the mark of value, . . . which he describes.

Of rougher style there are aces with corresponding semis (Pl. XXXIV, 7). The mark on the semis is . . . , according to the inverted system of numeration which we have observed on the coins of Coeligos (p. 159). This being so, the supposed quadrans of the Cervera collection must be a triens.

Varieties omitted by Vives and not represented in the present publication may be noted as follows:

Ace with bearded head between two dolphins

¹³ *Iberian*: Heiss, p. 168, Pl. XVI, 1-4. Delgado, iii, p. 39 f., 1-2. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 70-2, 268-70, nos. 461-2, 478-9. Pujol in *rev. de cienc. hist.*, iii, 1881, pp. 171-3; *epigr.*, no. 83 a-d. Hübner, no. 59 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, p. 129.

Municipal. Eckhel, i, p. 44. Heiss, p. 169, Pl. XVI-XVII, 6-9. Delgado, iii, p. 76, Pl. CXII, 1-7. Pujol, *rev. de cienc. hist.*, iv, 1886, pp. 128-9. Hübner, no. 59 a (with earlier references). Vives, iv, p. 108.

(Sestini, *Med. Isp.*, p. 217, no. 14; cp. Saulcy, p. 197, no. 160). Not verified.

Ace with . as well as **A** before the head (Pujol, *Rev. cienc. hist.*, iii, p. 171, no. 44). Possibly the . is the mark of value of the ace, according to the system indicated above.

Ace with beardless head, unaccompanied by either plough or **A**. Pujol, *loc. cit.*, no. 45.

For a quadrans usually associated with this series, see under *Caio*.

The coinage of the municipium is confined to the reign of Tiberius. On one of the aces¹⁴ the bull wears the triangular head-dress which we have seen elsewhere, as at Caesaraugusta.

The following countermarks have been noticed:

C and CAS (British Museum). Both perhaps for Cascantum itself.

VE Heiss, Pl. XVI, 6. Also found at Calagurris (q.v.) and elsewhere.

OZ(?)TICES

No satisfactory rendering has been found for the second letter (**T**) in this word **HTΨ<Z**.¹⁵ The only other coin on which it is found we have already described (Uz(?)an) on p. 161; and, as that

¹⁴ Pujol, *Rev. cienc. hist.*, iv, 1886, p. 128, no. 68.

¹⁵ For Delgado and Zobel it is *t*; for Hübner, subject to further information, it is *z*.

belongs to the Pompaelo region, and the coin with which we are now concerned to the region of Turiaso, we may suppose that it represents some sound which elsewhere has a different symbol, not necessarily a sound that is not found elsewhere. All the usual sounds appear to be represented on coins of the two districts by forms representing those current elsewhere, except *g* (or *gi*) which usually appears as J , and *θ*, which usually appears as ◊ .¹⁶ If one of these is represented in our district by **T** the inscription concerned is either *ogitices* or *oθ()tices*, neither of which corresponds to any otherwise recorded name. In the circumstances the question must be left open. The guesses of Delgado, Boudard and Zobel (*Attacum*, *Etosca*, *Attiliana mansio*) need only be mentioned.

The coinage (Pl. XXXV, 1, 2) consists of slightly varying aces;¹⁷ the semis supposed to belong to this series really reads **HM** (*oi*). The supposed sign A behind the rider on the reverse of a coin in the Cervera collection, published by Pujol,¹⁸ is probably the sign which looks like a trisceles on Pl. XXXV, 1.

¹⁶ According to Gómez-Moreno, this is *te* (*de*).

¹⁷ Lorichs, XVII, 6. Boudard, p. 198, Pl. XIII, 15. Heiss, p. 174, Pl. XVIII, 1. Delgado, iii, p. 251, Pl. CXLV, 1. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 70 f., 73 (Pl. VI, 8), 270, nos. 470–2. Pujol in *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 328; *epigr.*, no. 149 *a*, *b*. Hübner, no. 61 (with earlier references). Vives, II, p. 131.

¹⁸ *Bol. Acad.*, iv, 1884, p. 328, no. 42.

ΘITIAQOS

Two of the extremely rare aces²⁰ with this inscription (⊕ϺΨϷΜ) were first published by Zobel, who describes them as having the style of the district of Turiaso. Vives adds, from the Cervera collection, another specimen of Zobel's second ace; and a third variety, of very barbarous style, from the Jordana collection, which resembles the Berlin specimen here illustrated (Pl. XXXV, 3). The resemblance in style to some of the issues of *Varaqos* (below) is striking. The letters behind the head on the obverse are given by him as ⊕↑Μ but, judging from the Berlin example, the third letter must be Χ. The first letter, also, is merely a deformed *a*, as comparison with the coin of *Varaqos* shows. On the reverse the second letter (on both Jordana and Berlin specimens, which are perhaps from the same dies) is Ρ, evidently a deformed Ϻ.

²⁰ Zobel, *M.N.E.*, v, p. 73, Pl. VI, 9 and 10 (from the Collection of Domingo Bazan); pp. 270-1, nos. 473-4. Pujol, *epigr.*, no. 169 *a, b*. Hübner, no. 62. Vives, ii, pp. 142-3 (his comments have been transferred from another mint, to which they belong).

VARAQOS

The issues ²¹ inscribed *Varaqos* (↑P♦PXM) are all aces, of varying degrees of barbarism (Pl. XXXV, 4–6). Some of them bear on the obverse ↑P (*va*) ²² or P↑X (*auta*). The last, as we have seen, occurs also on some of the *Θitiaqos* coins, which indeed show considerable resemblance in style. The horseman carries sometimes a spear, sometimes a sword. The workmanship is so bad that it is sometimes impossible to decide whether the symbol on the obverse is meant for a dolphin or a plough.

Delgado, Zobel and Schulten ²³ identify the mint with Vareia or Varia, a town of the Berones, on the upper Ebro (now *Varea*, half a league east of *Logroño*). Delgado also suggests that the Autrigones, who bordered on the Berones, are indicated by the inscription behind the head on the obverse. No other suggestion as to the identity of the mint has any plausibility.

²¹ Heiss, p. 227, Pl. XXIX, 1–3. Delgado, iii, pp. 418–20, Pl. CLXXIV, 1–4. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, pp. 70–2, Pl. VI, 6, 7; pp. 268–71, nos. 463–9. Pujol, *Bol. Acad.*, v, 1884, p. 28; *epigr.*, nos. 70, 179 *a–g*. Hübner, no. 63 (with previous references). Vives, ii, pp. 109–10.

²² E.g., *M.N.E.*, v, Pl. VI, 6.

²³ *Numantia*, I, 313.

REGIO CALAGURRITANA

CALAGURRIS

The Calagurris¹ of the coins is represented by the modern *Calahorra*, on the Ebro.² The place was the scene of a battle between Romans and Celtiberians in 186 B.C.,³ and sustained a memorable siege in the Sertorian War.⁴ It is to be distinguished from the town of the Calagurritani Fibularenses, which may have been at *Loarre*, about 25 km. N.W. of Huesca.⁵ Both Strabo⁶ and Ptolemy⁷ call it a city of the Vascones; but

¹ The name appears as Calagurri on the coins. The literary form is *Calagurris* or *Calagorris* (but see note 7 below); the inscriptions (which generally favour the -gor-form, though the other occurs as in *C.I.L.*, ii, 4326) do not give the word in the nominative, so that they offer no evidence on this point. Similarly we have *Saelabi* on the coins as against *Saelabis* in literature; *Bilbili* (on the earlier coins) as against *Bilbilis* (on the later coins and in literature). As regards the name *Nassica*, known from the coins, Livy has *Nasica*; Pliny agrees with Livy, giving *Calagurritani qui Nasici cognominantur* (*N.H.*, III. 24).

² *C.I.L.*, ii, p. 404. Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v. Calagurris (2).

³ Liv., xxxix, 21.

⁴ Livy, lib. xci; Schulten, *Sertorius*, p. 95; *Numantia*, i, p. 311.

⁵ Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v. Calagurris (1). Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 74 "sin fundamento." It is curious that Hübner calls *this* Calagurris a city of the Vascones.

⁶ III, 161 c.

⁷ II, 6, 66, where *Καλαγορίνα*, as Ukert suggested, must be the remains of *Καλαγορί Νάσικα*.

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the Iberian coinage is (with exceptions such as Pl. XXXV, 9) of a much less barbarous type than that which we have seen reason to attribute to the Vasconian district proper.

Calagurris was not a municipium when Agrippa's list was made, for Pliny, based on that list, mentions it as an *oppidum civium Romanorum* without the title *Iulia* or the qualification *municipium*. The coins prove that it enjoyed these as early as the reign of Augustus.

The Iberian coinage (Pl. XXXV, 7-9⁸) consists of aces bearing an inscription **ΑΙΤΑΡΙΩΝ** which can be read *Calagorigoš*, the connexion of which with Calagurris beyond doubt. The -*goš* termination may be adjectival. The types are normal. Sestini's engraving⁹ of a coin with **Α** before the head on the obverse, and the rider carrying a palm-branch instead of a spear, is probably without warranty.

The Imperial bronze¹⁰ consists of aces and semisses of the following varieties. The type of

⁸ Lorichs, Pl. III, 9-12. Heiss, pp. 163-4, Pl. XIV, 1-3. Delgado, iii, pp. 56, 61 f., Pl. CIV, 1-4. Zobel in *M.N.E.*, v, p. 74, Pl. VI, 12; p. 274, nos. 486-488. Pujol in *R.C.H.*, iii, 1881, pp. 175-6; *epigr.*, nos. 84 a, b, 85. Hübner, *M.L.I.*, no. 64 (with earlier references). Vives, ii, pp. 138-9.

⁹ *Med. Isp.*, Tab. ult., no. 2.

¹⁰ Florez, i, pp. 255-281, Pl. XI, 8-XIII, 11. Eckhel, i, pp. 39-41. Heiss, pp. 164 f., Pl. XV, XVI, 4-33. Delgado, iii, pp. 57-63, Pl. CIV, 5-CVIII, 39. Hübner, no. 64 a (with previous references). Vives, iv, pp. 96-101.

the ace is regularly the standing bull; the semis has a bull's head; the quadrans an inscr. in a wreath.

AUGUSTUS

- I. Under the name *Nassica*. With the head of Augustus,¹¹ but without his name, *Nassica* being inscribed in front of the head.
 - a. Aces with CALAGVRRI IVLIA on reverse (Pl. XXXV, 10).
 - b. Semisses of the aediles, C. Val. and C. Sex., without mint-name on reverse (Pl. XXXV, 11).
- II. Under the name *Municipium Calagurri*. With the head but not the name of Augustus. On *obv.* MVN. CAL. and II·VIR; on rev. names of duoviri. Aces.
 - a. Q. Aem(ilio), C. Post(umio) Mil. (Pl. XXXVI, 1).
 - b. Q. Antoni(o), L. Fabi(o)¹² (Pl. XXXVI, 2).
 - c. M' Memmi(o), L. Iuni(o).

Vives (iv, p. 97, no. 6) prints MAN. MEM-MIVS, L. IVNIVS; his illustration however does not confirm this, although Delgado (Pl. CIV, 8)

¹¹ Hübner's suggestion that the head is meant for Julius is unacceptable; it has none of the characteristic features of Julius.

¹² The variety given by Heiss (XV, 14) and Delgado (CVI, 22) with IMF AVGVSTVS MV.C.I on *obv.*, and M. ANTONI., I. FABI II VIR on *rev.*, lacks good authority.

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does engrave a coin with L·IVNIVS. The names are normally in the ablative.

III. Under the name *Municipium Calagurri Iulia*.

With the head but not the name of Augustus. On obv. MVN. CAL. IVL., on rev. names of the duoviri and title II VIR. Aces.

- a. Q. Aemili(o), C. Post(umio) Mil. Delgado, CV, 14.
- b. L. Granio, C. Valerio (Pl. XXXVI, 3).
- c. C. Mar. Cap., Q. Urso.
- d. M. Plae(torio) Tran(quillo), Q. Urso iterum (Pl. XXXVI, 4).
- e. C. Valeri(o), L. Feni(o).

This is given by Delgado (Pl. CV, 17), as having an obv. of the type of Group II. If this combination really exists, it is a hybrid, since II.VIR would not naturally appear on both sides.

IV. Under the name *Municipium Calagurri*.

With the head (laureate) and name of Augustus. On obv. IMP. AVGVS(TVS) and MVN. CAL(AG). On rev. names of duoviri and title II VIR. Aces.

- a. L. BAEBIO, P. ANTESTIO (Pl. XXXVI, 5).
- b. C. MARI(o), M. VAL(erio) PR II VIR (*Praefectis duoviris*).

Delgado (Pl. CVI, 23) gives a variety with C. MARI., M.VAL. QVAD. II VIR: and with MVN. CAL. I on obv.; a description not above suspicion.

V. Under the name *Municipium Calagurri* [*Iulia*]. With the head and name of Augustus. On *obv.* AVGVSTVS and MVN. CAL. IVLIA (aces) or MV. CAL. (semisses and quadrantes). On *rev.* L. BAEB(io) PRISCO and C. GRAN(io) BROCCO and title II·VIR; the gentile names omitted on the semis (Pl. XXXVI, 6) and quadrans (Pl. XXXVI, 7).

VI. *Municipium Calagurri Iulia*. With the head of Augustus laureate, and titulature IMP. AVGVST. PATER PATRIAE, or IMP. CAESAR AVGVSTVS P.P., therefore after 2 B.C. On *rev.* M.C.I. or M. CAL. I., names of duoviri, and II·VIR. Aces.

a. M.LIC(inio) CAPEL(la), C·FVL(vio) RVTIL(o or -iano) (Pl. XXXVI, 8).

b. L. VALENTINO, L. NOVO (Pl. XXXVI, 9).

c. C. SEMP(ronio) BARB(ato),¹³ Q. BAEB(io) FLAVO (Pl. XXXVI, 10).

The C. Semp., P. Arri of Florez (Pl. XII, 12) and Vaillant (cp. Delgado, no. 30; Heiss, Pl. XVI, 21) looks at first sight like a misreading of a coin of C. Semp. Barb.; but if so, the name of

¹³ There is no authority for the reading BARE, in support of which Hübner cites the cognomen *Bareta* from *C.I.L.*, II, 3628.

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the second duovir is lacking, which is without precedent; so the reading may be right.

TIBERIUS

- VII. Semisses with TI. CAESAR AVGVSTI.F.
M.C.I. on *obv.* and on *rev.* names of aediles:
L. Val(erio) Flavo, T. Val(erio) Merula
(Pl. XXXVII, 3).

The titulature shows that this coinage of semisses was issued before the death of Augustus.

- VIII. Aces with *obv.* TI. AVGVS. DIVI. AVGVSTI F. IMP. CAESAR or TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS; on *rev.* M·C·I. and names of duoviri, and II VIR.
a. L. FVL(vio) SPARSO, L. SATVRNINO (Pl. XXXVII, 1).
b. C·CELERE, C·RECTO (Pl. XXXVII, 2).

Also *c.* Semisses with TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG.F. AVGVSTVS and on *rev.* names of the duoviri of (*b*) and M·C·I.

The only coins issued by aediles are the early semisses (*I b*) and those in the name of Tiberius Caesar (VII); in the reign of Tiberius Augustus, the duoviri Celer and Rectus strike both aces and semisses.

Heiss notices the form of the titulature of Tiberius, in which IMP. CAESAR comes at the

end, and recalls the statement of Suetonius and Cassius Dio, that Tiberius would not use *Imperator* as a praenomen. The generalization¹⁴ that while "Augustus used 'imperator' as a praenomen . . . Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius abstained from its use entirely" requires modification, in the light of these coins of Calagurri, and those of Caesaraugusta under Caligula; but of course Spanish usage may not have been strictly correct.

Of countermarks at Calagurri we notice: the eagle's head (Pl. XXXVII, 1).

CA·I (Calagurri Iulia) (Pl. XXXVI, 9).

∅. Heiss (Pl. XVI, 23). This or ∅ is found also at Cascantum, Ercavica, and Turiaso (?). For Valentia?

GRACCURRIS

The Iberian town of Ilurcis was refounded by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, to control the upper Ebro valley and as a monument of his own achievements (*monumentum operum suorum*), after the subjection of the Celtiberians, in 179 B.C.).¹⁵ It was a station on the road from Viro-

¹⁴ Mattingly, B.M.C., *Rom. Emp.*, I, p. lxvii.

¹⁵ Festus Pauli, p. 97: Gracchuris urbs Iberae regionis, dicta a Graccho Sempronio, quae antea Ilurcis nominabatur. Liv., epit., xli: Ti Sempronius Gracchus procos. Celtiberos victos in deditionem accepit monumentumque operum suorum Gracchurim oppidum in Hispania con-

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vesca to Caesaraugusta, and has been placed at Grávalos near Agreda, and at Arcue near Corella. As Hübner says, it may have been about half-way between Cascantum and Calagurris, but the site has not yet been identified, nor do we know on which bank of the river it lay. Ptolemy places it among the Vascones, which Hübner says is much too far to the North East. But it is clear from both Ptolemy and Strabo that the Vascon district at one time extended as far as this portion of the Ebro valley, for they agree in calling Calagurris Vascon.

No coins, so far as we know, can be attributed to the Iberian predecessor of Graccurris. The coinage of the Roman period is confined to the time of Tiberius.¹⁶ The place as early as the time of Agrippa's list was one of the *oppida* with the old Latin right,¹⁷ and the coins bear the inscription *municip. Graccurris*. The types (Pl. XXXVII, 4, 5) of the ace (bull) and semis (bull's head) are normal, though the bull wears the triangle which has been discussed above (p. 95).

stituit. On the place generally, see Hübner in *R.E.*, s.v. *Gracurris*. Hübner adopts this last spelling, for which there is no authority worth mentioning (*Gracuse* in Rav., 311, 16, Γρακουρίς Ptol., II, 6, 66), because it corresponds to the old way of spelling the name of the founder, *Gracus*.

¹⁶ Hübner doubtless by a slip of the pen writes of "autonomous" coins with the inscription *municip. Gracurris*.

¹⁷ Plin., *N.H.*, III, 24.

KEY TO PLATES

NOTE. The reference to *Numantia* is to Haeberlin's description in Schulten's *Numantia*, Vol. IV. I.V.D.J. = Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid. M.A. = Museo Arqueológico, Madrid. For coins previously illustrated in the plates of Vives, his statements concerning their owners have been copied, though some of the collections seem to have changed hands.

I

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Rhode, drachm. | 4g.93, Vienna. |
| 2. Rhode, drachm. | 4g.83, Stockholm. |
| 3. Rhode, drachm. | 4g.77, London. |
| 4. Rhode, bronze. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. I, 7). |
| 5. Rhode (imit.), dr. | Paris (Mionnet, I, 48, 353). |
| 6. Rhode (imit.), dr. | 4g.67, London. |
| 7. Emporiae, obol. | 1g.01, London (Vives, Pl. II, 15). |
| 8. Emporiae, obol. | 1g.06, London (Vives, Pl. II, 14). |
| 9. Emporiae, obol. | 0g.90, Paris (Heiss, Pl. I, 14). |
| 10. Emporiae, obol. | 0g.63, London (H. Weber, 24). |
| 11. Emporiae, obol. | Barcelona (Vives, Pl. II, 10). |
| 12. Emporiae, obol. | 0g.92, Paris (Vives, Pl. II, 24). |
| 13. Emporiae, obol. | Paris (Heiss, Pl. I, 13). |
| 14. Emporiae, obol. | Paris. |
| 15. Emporiae, obol. | Barcelona (Vives, Pl. II, 28). |
| 16. Emporiae, obol. | Barcelona (Vives, Pl. II, 21). |
| 17. Emporiae, drachm. | 4g.86, London (Nanteuil, no. 1). |
| 18. Emporiae, drachm. | Cambridge (Leake). |
| 19. Emporiae, drachm. | 4g.27, ? (Lucerne Sale, V, 2). |
| 20. Emporiae, drachm. | 4g.86, London. |
| 21. Emporiae, drachm. | 5g.46, Berlin. |
| 22. Emporiae, drachm. | 4g.605, Berlin. |
| 23. Emporiae, drachm. | Paris. |
| 24. Emporiae, drachm. | 4g.37, Copenhagen. |

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II

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Emporiae, ace. | 26g.70, Mainz (<i>Numantia</i> , 129). |
| 2. Emporiae, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. XIV, 4). |
| 3. Emporiae, ace. | 24g.175, Stockholm. |
| 4. Emporiae, quadrans. | 7g.33, London. |
| 5. Emporiae, ace? | 10g.35, Copenhagen. |
| 6. Emporiae, semis? | 12g.43, Mainz (<i>Numantia</i> 128). |
| 7. Emporiae, ace. | Barcelona (Vives, Pl. XVI, 8). |
| 8. Emporiae, semis. | 7g.93, Paris. |
| 9. Emporiae, triens. | 5g.95, Copenhagen. |
| 10. Emporiae, sextans. | I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XVI, 14). |
| 11. Emporiae, quadrans. | 3g.54, Newell. |

III

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Emporiae, ace. | Béziers. |
| 2. Emporiae, ace. | 9g.49, The Hague. |
| 3. Emporiae, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, CXXI, 2). |
| 4. Emporiae, ace. | Berlin. |
| 5. Emporiae, ace. | ? (Lucerne Sale, XII, 2). |
| 6. Emporiae, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, CXXII, 8). |
| 7. Tarraco, ace. | I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXXI, 1). |
| 8. Tarraco, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, XXXI, 3). |
| 9. Tarraco, semis. | 8g.05, London. |
| 10. Tarraco, quadrans. | Madrid, Prado (Vives, XXXI, 6). |
| 11. Tarraco, semis. | 4g.80, Lockett. |
| 12. Tarraco, sextans. | 1g.84, Newell. |
| 13. Tarraco, denarius. | 4g.15, London. |
| 14. Tarraco, quinarius. | 2g.01, V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 245. |

IV

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Tarraco, semis. | 11g.57, London. |
| 2. Tarraco, triens. | Stockholm. |
| 3. Tarraco, sextans. | 2g.24, Berlin. |
| 4. Tarraco, ace. | 16g.25, London. |

5. Tarraco, quadrans. 3g.69, Mainz (*Numantia*, 131).
6. Tarraco, uncia. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 257.
7. Tarraco, ace. Paris.
8. Tarraco, ace. 11g.85, Gotha.
9. Tarraco, quadrans. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXXIII, 7).
10. Tarraco, semis. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XXXIII, 11).
11. Tarraco, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXXIV, 11).
12. Tarraco, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXXV, 1).
13. Tarraco, ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 283.
14. Tarraco, semis. 4g.41, Berlin.
15. Tarraco, ace. 9g.21, Copenhagen.
16. Tarraco, ace. 11g.44, Berlin.

V

1. Tarraco, ace. 11g.33, London.
2. Tarraco, semis. 7g.0g, London.
3. Tarraco, quadrans. Paris (Mionnet, I, 51, 369).
4. Tarraco, semis. 4g.81, London.
5. Tarraco, ace. 5g.38, London.
6. Tarraco, sestertius. 24g.05, London.
7. Tarraco, sestertius. 27g.80, London (Lucerne Sale, XV, 1930, lot 1).
8. Tarraco, sestertius. 26g.96, London (Lucerne Sale, XV, 1930, lot 2).
9. Tarraco, ace. Paris (Mionnet, I, 52, 379).
10. Tarraco, ace. 11g.08, London.
11. Tarraco, semis. 5g.55, London.

VI

1. Laietani, ace. 19g.78, Berlin.
2. Laietani, ace. 12g.90, Lockett.
3. Baitulo, ace. 12g.37, London.
4. Baitulo, quadrans. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 308.
5. Iluro, quadrans. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 322.
6. Iluro, ace. 15g.44, Newell.
7. Iluro, semis. 5g.60, Berlin.
8. Iluro, quadrans. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XXIV, 9).
9. Iluro, quadrans. Paris.

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VII

1. Ieso, ace. 10g.95, London.
2. Ieso, ace. 9g.08, The Hague.
3. Ore(tum), ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 293.
4. Ausa, ace. 23g.07, Hunter.
5. Ausa, denarius. Athens.
6. Ausa, ace. 8g.52, London.
7. Ausa, quadrans. 6g.01, Newell.
8. Masonsa, as. 8g.70, London.
9. Vasti, semis. Morales, Madrid (Vives, Pl. LIX, 1).

VIII

1. Arcedurgi, semis. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XXV, 2).
2. Arcedurgi, quadrans. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XXV, 3).
3. Arcedurgi, ace. 14g.27, London.
4. Corucoruatin, ace. 11g.78, London.
5. Eustivaicola, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, XXIII, 2).
6. Eustivaicola, ace. 11g.39, Berlin.
7. Eustivaicola, semis. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 478.
8. Eustivaicola, quadrans. Jordana (Vives, XXIII, 3).
9. Eustivaicola, quadrans. Madrid, Prado (Vives, Pl. XXIII, 3).

IX

1. Caio, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LVI, 1).
2. Caio, quadrans. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. LVI, 2).
3. Osconcn, ace. S. de Ricci.
4. Osconcn, ace. Paris.
5. Ilerda, hemiobol? Paris (Muret-Chabouillet, no. 529).
6. Ilerda, hemiobol? V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 323.
7. Ilerda, drachm. 4g.68, London.
8. Ilerda, denarius. Athens.
9. Ilerda, quinarius. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 324.
10. Ilerda, ace. 25g.46, London.
11. Ilerda, ace. 10g.10, London.
12. Ilerda, semis. 6g.18, London.

X

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ilerda, semis? | 10g.94, Newell. |
| 2. Ilerda, semis? | 8g.33, London. |
| 3. Ilerda, quadrans. | 3g.51, Newell. |
| 4. Ilerda, semis. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 833. |
| 5. Ilergetes, ace. | 16g.68, Berlin. |
| 6. Ilergetes, semis. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 351. |
| 7. Ilergetes, ace. | 8g.78, London. |
| 8. Eso, ace. | 10g.14, Newell. |

XI

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ilercavonia, ace. | Berlin. |
| 2. Ilercavonia, semis. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 826. |
| 3. Ilercavonia, ace. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 829. |
| 4. Alavona, ace. | 11g.48, London. |
| 5. Celsa, ace. | Jordana (Vives, Pl. LXI, 1). |
| 6. Celsa, semis. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 226. |
| 7. Celsa, quadrans. | Paris. |
| 8. Celsa, ace. | 8g.70, London. |
| 9. Celsa, ace. | 16g.66, Copenhagen. |

XII

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Celsa, ace. | 19g. 245, Berlin. |
| 2. Celsa, semis. | 5g.06, Newell. |
| 3. Celsa, semis. | I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LXII, 8). |
| 4. Celsa, quadrans. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 227. |
| 5. Celsa, ace. | 14g.08, London. |
| 6. Celsa, ace. | 16g.69, London. |
| 7. Celsa, ace. | 13g.18, London. |
| 8. Celsa, ace. | 18g.49, London. |
| 9. Celsa, semis. | Berlin. |
| 10. Celsa, quadrans? | I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CLX, 8). |

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XIII

1. Celsa, ace. Stockholm.
2. Celsa, ace. 13g.91, London.
3. Celsa, ace. Copenhagen.
4. Celsa, ace. 12g.01, London.
5. Celsa, semis. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CLXI, 3).
6. Celsa, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CLXI, 6).
7. Celsa, ace. S. de Ricci.
8. Celsa, ace. Paris.
9. Celsa, semis. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 725.
10. Otogesa, ace. 8g.72, London.

XIV

1. Salduia, ace. 10g. 12, Berlin.
2. Caesaraugusta, ace. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CXLVII, 1).
3. Caesaraugusta, ace. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CXLVII, 3).
4. Caesaraugusta, quadrans. Paris.
5. Caesaraugusta, ace. Leningrad.
6. Caesaraugusta, semis. 5g.73, London.
7. Caesaraugusta, quadrans. 3g.10, Copenhagen.
8. Caesaraugusta, ace. 14g.40, London.
9. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CXLVIII, 11).
10. Caesaraugusta, semis. 7g.12, London.
11. Caesaraugusta, semis. Gotha.

XV

1. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. 21g.62, London.
2. Caesaraugusta, ace. 14g.29, London.
3. Caesaraugusta, ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 590.
4. Caesaraugusta, ace. Stockholm.
5. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. Stockholm (Cat. Lorichs, no. 627).

- 6. Caesaraugusta, semis. 5g.18, London.
- 7. Caesaraugusta, quadrans. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CL, 9).
- 8. Caesaraugusta, semis. Leningrad.
- 9. Caesaraugusta, ace. 17g.40, Copenhagen.

XVI

- 1. Caesaraugusta, ace. 12g.91, London.
- 2. Caesaraugusta, ace. 12g.86, Madrid, M.A.
(Vives, Pl. CLII, 4).
- 3. Caesaraugusta, ace. Paris (Mionnet, I, 33, 239).
- 4. Caesaraugusta, ace. London.
- 5. Caesaraugusta, ace. Barber (Vives, Pl. CLI, 10).
- 6. Caesaraugusta, semis. V. Quadras y Ramon, 600.
- 7. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. I.V.D.J. (Vives, CLII, 7).
- 8. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. 28g.47, London.

XVII

- 1. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. Paris.
- 2. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. 30g.39, Hunter (Macdonald, III, Pl. XCVII, 23).
- 3. Caesaraugusta, ace. Vienna.
- 4. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. V. Quadras y Ramon, 612.
- 5. Caesaraugusta, ace. Copenhagen.
- 6. Caesaraugusta, sestertius. Paris.
- 7. Caesaraugusta, ace. Gotha.

XVIII

- 1. Caesaraugusta, ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 605.
- 2. Caesaraugusta, ace. 10g.19, The Hague.
- 3. Caesaraugusta, ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 590.
- 4. Caesaraugusta, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CLIII, 2).
- 5. Osicerda, ace. 4g.17, Newell.
- 6. Osicerda, semis. 5g.93, London.
- 7. Osicerda, ace. 10g.70, London.
- 8. Osicerda, semis. 4g.10, London.

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XIX

1. Ilduquico, ace. 13g.75, London.
2. Lagne, ace. Copenhagen.
3. Lagne, semis. 3g.34, Newell.
4. Seθiscen, ace. Empedocles.
5. Seθiscen, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, XXXVIII, 2).
6. Seθiscen, quadrans. Jordana (Vives, XXXVIII, 3).
7. Seθiscen, heavy ace. 16g.28, London.
8. Seθiscen, light ace. Athens.
9. Seθiscen, light ace. Jordana (Vives, XXXVIII, 9).
10. Seθiscen, semis. London.
11. Seθiscen, quadrans. 3g.19, Copenhagen.

XX

1. Secaisa, ace. Barril (Vives, Pl. LXIV, 2).
2. Secaisa, ace. Mainz (*Numantia*, no. 141).
3. Secaisa, semis. Hunter (Macdonald, III, Pl. XCVII, 10).
4. Secaisa, triens. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, LXIV, 10).
5. Secaisa. 14g.75, Mainz (*Numantia*, 138).
6. Secaisa, denarius. 3g.92, London.
7. Secaisa, heavy ace. 19g.95, London.
8. Secaisa, semis. Barril (Vives, Pl. LXIV, 12).
9. Secaisa, light ace. Barril (Vives, Pl. LXV, 5).

XXI

1. Secaisa, semis. Barril (Vives, Pl. LXV, 3).
2. Secaisa, quadrans. V. Quardas y Ramon, no. 445.
3. Secaisa, light ace. 8g.44, London.
4. Secaisa, semis. Jordana (Vives, Pl. LXV, 9).
5. Secaisa, triens. Barril (Vives, Pl. LXV, 10).
6. Secaisaqom, ace. 8g.06, Gotha.
7. Saguntum, silver. 2g.95, Stockholm.
8. Saguntum, silver. 3g.14, London.
9. Saguntum, silver. Vienna.
10. Saguntum, silver. Sánchez (Vives, Pl. VI, 15).

11. Saguntum, silver. 0g.28, V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 159).
12. Saguntum, silver. 2g.98, Newell.
13. Saguntum, silver. Paris.
14. Saguntum, silver. 3g.42, Copenhagen.
15. Saguntum, silver. 2g.61, London.
16. Saguntum, silver. 2g.39, Newell.
17. Saguntum, silver. 2g.84, Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. VI, 6).

XXII

1. Saguntum, silver. 2g.20, I.V.D.J. (Vives, VI, 7).
2. Saguntum, silver. 1g.49, Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. VI, 18).
3. Saguntum, silver. 2g.61, London.
4. Saguntum, silver. 2g.38, London.
5. Saguntum, silver. 2g.89, London.
6. Saguntum, silver. Vienna.
7. Saguntum, bronze. 6g.64, Newell.
8. Saguntum, ace. 13g.78, London.
9. Saguntum, ace. 14g.06, Hunter (Macdonald, III, Pl. XCVI, 21).
10. Saguntum, heavy ace. 23g.14, Newell.
11. Saguntum, heavy ace. 24g.72, Newell.
12. Saguntum, heavy ace. 18g.03, Berlin.
13. Saguntum, heavy ace. 21g.09, The Hague.

XXIII

1. Saguntum, heavy ace. 20g.24, The Hague.
2. Saguntum, heavy ace. Mateos (Vives, Pl. XVIII, 2).
3. Saguntum, heavy ace. 16g.50, London.
4. Saguntum, heavy ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XVIII, 4).
5. Saguntum, heavy ace. Leningrad.
6. Saguntum, quadrans. 4g.89, Newell.
7. Saguntum, quadrans. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 143.
8. Saguntum, quadrans. Stockholm (Cat. Lorichs, no. 1069).

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9. Saguntum, quadrans. 2g.48, Newell.
10. Saguntum, quadrans. 3g.47, Hunter (Macdonald, III, Pl. XCVI, 9).
11. Saguntum, quadrans. 2g.54, Berlin.
12. Saguntum, quadrans. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XIX, 16).
13. Saguntum, quadrans. 3g.62, London.
14. Saguntum, sextans. 1g.22, Copenhagen.

XXIV

1. Saguntum, ace. Vienna.
2. Saguntum, ace. Gotha.
3. Saguntum, semis. 5g.70, London.
4. Saetabi, ace. 10g.00, Berlin.
5. Saetabi, semis. 6g.03, Gotha.
6. Saetabi, quadrans. 3g.43, V. Quadras y Ramon, 422.
7. Saetabi, quadrans. 2g.43, London.
8. Saetabi, sextans. Madrid, Prado (Vives, XX, 8).
9. Saetabi, heavy ace. 27g.22, London.
10. Saetabi, light ace. 11g.23, Berlin.
11. Saetabi, light ace. ? (Vives, (Pl. XX, 10).
12. Saetabi, light ace. Hunter.

XXV

1. Avarildur, semis. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 160.
2. Avarildur, quadrans. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 161.
3. Avarildur, sextans. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. LXVII, 5).
4. Lauro, heavy ace. 27g.70, V. Quadras y Ramon.
5. Lauro, light ace. 8g.81, Berlin.
6. Lauro, light ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 385.
7. Lauro, light ace. 10g. 34, London.
8. Lauro, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXI, 3).
9. Lauro, quadrans. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXI, 9).
10. Gili, ace. 11 g. 24, London.
11. Gili, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XXI, 2).

XXVI

1. Osca, denarius. 4g.44, London.
2. Osca, denarius. 3g.75, London.
3. Osca, denarius. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 411.
4. Osca, denarius. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. XLIII, 3).
5. Osca, light ace. 9g.10, Mainz (*Numantia*, no. 172).
6. Osca, light ace. 5g.71, London.
7. Osca, semis. 4g.71, London.
8. Osca, quadrans. 3g.88, Newell.
9. Osca, denarius. 3g.40, ? (Lucerne Sale, V, 7).
10. Osca, ace. Paris.
11. Osca, ace. Berlin.
12. Osca, ace. 13g.15, London.

XXVII

1. Osca, quadrans. 2g.09, London.
2. Osca, quadrans. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CXXXVI, 2).
3. Osca, ace. 11g.78, London.
4. Osca, ace. Paris (Mionnet, I, 46, 339).
5. Osca, ace. 11g.77, London.
6. Osca, semis. 6g.93, London.
7. Osca, ace. 13g.83, London.
8. Osca, ace. Berlin.
9. Osca, quadrans. 3g.76, Berlin.
10. Osca, quadrans. ex Rañoy (Vives, Pl. CXXXVII, 5).
11. Osca, ace. ex Rañoy (Vives, Pl. CXXXVII, 3).
12. Osca, semis. 8g.53, London.
13. Osca, ace. 10g.35, London.

XXVIII

1. Osca, semis. Paris.
2. Osca, sestertius. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CXXXVII, 7).
3. Osca, ace. 19g.65, London.
4. Osca, ace. Paris (Luynes).

COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR 193

5. Osca, semis. 5g.67, London.
6. Iaca, ace. 7g.80, London.
7. Segia, denarius. 3g.49, London.
8. Segia, ace. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. XLII, 3).
9. Segia, ace. Leningrad.
10. Segia, ace. 10g.06, Berlin.
11. Segia, semis. 3g.79, London.

XXIX

1. Segia, heavy ace. 15g.70, London.
2. Sesars, denarius. 3g.635, Berlin.
3. Sesars, quinarius. 1g.99, V. Quadras y Ramon, 454.
4. Sesars, ace. 11g.02, Newell.
5. Sesars, semis. 5g.86, Newell.
6. Sesars, semis. ex Sánchez (Vives, Pl. XLIII, 6).
7. Sesars, quadrans. 2g.80, Newell.
8. Gallicum, denarius. 3g.46, The Hague.
9. Gallicum, denarius. 3g.83, London.
10. Gallicum, ace. 8g.59, London.
11. Gallicum, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. XLIV, 4).
12. Gallicum, triens. 3g.68, Mainz (*Numantia*, no. 204).
13. Gallicum, ace. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XLIV, 7).

XXX

1. Va(r)scones, ace. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. XLV, 7).
2. Va(r)scones, ace. Copenhagen.
3. Va(r)scones, ace. 9g.68, London.
4. Va(r)scones, ace. 9g.46, London.
5. Va(r)scones, denarius. 3g.48, London.
6. Va(r)scones, denarius. 4g.22, London.
7. Arsa, denarius. 4g.29, ? (Lucerne Sale, VI, 4).
8. Arsa, ace. Stockholm.
9. Arsa, ace. Mainz (*Numantia*, no. 182).
10. Arsa, denarius. Paris.
11. Kontam, denarius. 3g.79, Oslo.
12. Kontam, ace. Jordana (Vives, Pl. XLIV, 5).
13. Kontam, ace. 5g.63, Newell.

XXXI

1. Coelios, ace. 6g.15, Newell.
2. Coelios, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. L, 3).
3. Coelios, quadrans. 2g.90, London.
4. Coelios, ace. 8.65, London.
5. Tyrissa, ace. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{obv.} \\ \text{rev.} \end{array} \right.$ Jordana (Vives, Pl. LVIII, 2).
V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 376.
6. Uzan, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LII, 1).
7. Turiaso, denarius. 4g.05, Newell.
8. Turiaso, denarius. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 466.
9. Turiaso, denarius. 4g.02, London.
10. Turiaso, denarius. 4g.14, London.
11. Turiaso, quinarius. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LI, 2).
12. Turiaso, quinarius. 1g.88, Newell.
13. Turiaso, ace. 10g.88, Newell.
14. Turiaso, ace. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LI, 9).
15. Turiaso, ace. V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 468.

XXXII

1. Turiaso, ace. Stockholm (Cat. Lorichs, 1147).
2. Turiaso, ace. 16g.05, Stockholm (Cat. Lorichs, 1145).
3. Turiaso, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. LII, 1).
4. Turiaso, semis. 6g.14, Newell.
5. Turiaso, ace. Vienna.
6. Turiaso, ace. 13g.19, London.
7. Turiaso, ace. Paris.
8. Turiaso, ace. 14g.58, London.
9. Turiaso, semis. I.V.D.J. (Vives, Pl. CLV, 4).

XXXIII

1. Turiaso, ace. 13g.54, London.
2. Turiaso, ace. 11g.94, London.
3. Turiaso, semis. Berlin.
4. Turiaso, sestertius. 25g.27, F. A. Walters.

COINAGE OF HISPANIA CITERIOR 195

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 5. Turiaso, ace. | Berlin. |
| 6. Turiaso, semis. | 4g.80, Johnson, Milan. |
| 7. Turiaso, ace. | Paris. |
| 8. Turiaso, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CLVI, 6). |
| 9. Turiaso, ace. | 11g.13, London. |
| 10. Turiaso, ace. | The Hague. |

XXXIV

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Turiaso, ace. | Paris. |
| 2. Turiaso, ace. | 12g.92, London. |
| 3. Turiaso, semis. | 8g.04, London. |
| 4. Turiaso, semis. | Paris. |
| 5. Turiaso, semis. | Paris. |
| 6. Cascantum, ace. | Jordana (Vives, Pl. LIII, 3). |
| 7. Cascantum, semis. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, LIII, 2). |
| 8. Cascantum, triens or
quadrans. | 3g.40, Paris. |
| 9. Cascantum, ace. | 9g.58, London. |
| 10. Cascantum, semis. | Berlin. |
| 11. Cascantum, semis. | Berlin. |

XXXV

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Oz(?)tices, ace. | Barril (Vives, Pl. LIV, 2). |
| 2. Oz(?)tices, ace. | Jordana (Vives, Pl. LIV, 1). |
| 3. Θitiaqos, ace. | 7g.33, Berlin. |
| 4. Varaqos, ace. | 7g.96, London. |
| 5. Varaqos, ace. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 473. |
| 6. Varaqos, ace. | Jordana (Vives, Pl. XLVI, 6). |
| 7. Calagurris, ace. | 15g.27, London. |
| 8. Calagurris, ace. | V. Quadras y Ramon, no. 198. |
| 9. Calagurris, ace. | Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. LVI, 4). |
| 10. Calagurris, ace. | 11g.68, London. |
| 11. Calagurris, semis. | 4g.30, The Hague. |

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XXXVI

1. Calagurris, ace. Copenhagen.
2. Calagurris, ace. 15g.77, London.
3. Calagurris, ace. 11g.70, Johnson, Milan.
4. Calagurris, ace. 15g.14, London.
5. Calagurris, ace. 11g.93, London.
6. Calagurris, semis. Vienna.
7. Calagurris, quadrans. Madrid, M.A. (Vives, Pl. CLVIII, 11).
8. Calagurris, ace. 12g.78, London.
9. Calagurris, ace. 12g.83, London.
10. Calagurris, ace. London.

XXXVII

1. Calagurris, ace. 13g.13, London.
2. Calagurris, ace. Copenhagen.
3. Calagurris, semis. 5g.76, London.
4. Graccurris, ace. 13g.03, London
5. Graccurris, semis. Barril (Vives, Pl. CLXIII, 2).

TABLE OF ALPHABETS AND PLATES

	HÜBNER	GÓMEZ-MORENO	HILL
▷▷	A	A	A
<	CG		C
↯	G	GI	G[I]
X	D	DA.TA	D[A]
⚡	E	E	E
↑	U.V	U.V	U.V
T	Z		Z?
H	H	O	O
◊ ⊙ ○	O	CU	CO
◊	TH	TE.DE	⊕
⚡	I	I.Y	I
⋈	K	BE	K
✱	K	BO	HO
Λ	L	L	L
Υ	M	M	M

	HÜBNER	GÓMEZ-MORENO	HILL
М	N	N.M	N
□	O	BU	
┐	P	BI	B[I]
⚡	S	S	S
⌘	Q	CO.GO	QO.QU
Ⓜ	R	R	R
⚙	R	R.RR	R
М	Š	S.X	Š
⚗	T	TI.DI	T[I]
W		TO	TO.TU
Y		N	N
АААА	CA	CA.GA	CA.GA
⚡	CE	CE	GE
I	Ї	BA.MA	BA.VA
ΔΔ	DU	DU.TU	DU.TU

RHODE. EMPORIAE



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



PLATE I



EMPORIAE



— 1 —



4



2



2



4



— 3 —



PLATE II



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



EMPORIAE



1



2



3



4



5



6



TARRACO

PLATE III



7



— 8 —



9



10



11



12



13



14



	HÜBNER	GÓMEZ-MORENO	HILL
▷▷	A	A	A
<	CG		C
↯	G	GI	G[I]
X	D	DA.TA	D[A]
⚡	E	E	E
↑	U.V	U.V	U.V
T	Z		Z?
H	H	O	O
◊ ⊙ ○	O	CU	CO
◊	TH	TE.DE	⊙
⚡	I	I.Y	I
⋈	K	BE	K
✱	K	BO	HO
Λ	L	L	L
Υ	M	M	M

	HÜBNER	GÓMEZ- MORENO	HILL
М	N	N.M	N
□	O	BU	
П	P	BI	B[I]
Ѕ	S	S	S
Х	Q	CO.GO	QO.QU
РД	R	R	R
ѢѢ	R	R.RR	R
М	Š	S.X	Š
Ч	T	TI.DI	T[I]
Ш		TO	TO.TU
У		N	N
АААА	CA	CA.GA	CA.GA
ЕЕ	CE	CE	GE
І	Ї	BA.MA	BA.VA
ΔΔ	DU	DU.TU	DU.TU

RHODE. EMPORIAE

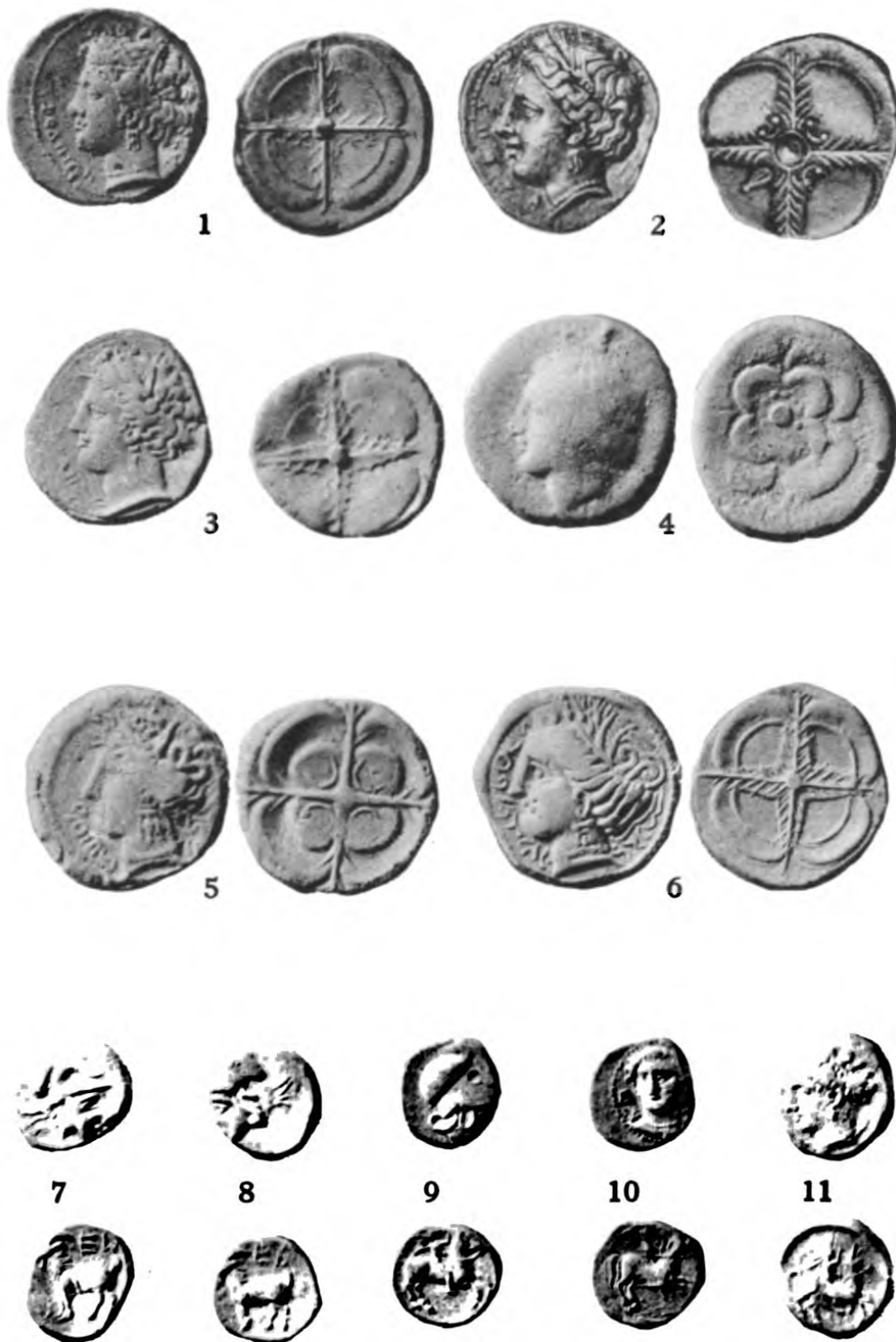


PLATE I



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



EMPORIAE



— 1 —



4



2



2



4



— 3 —



PLATE II



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TARRACO

PLATE III



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TARRACO

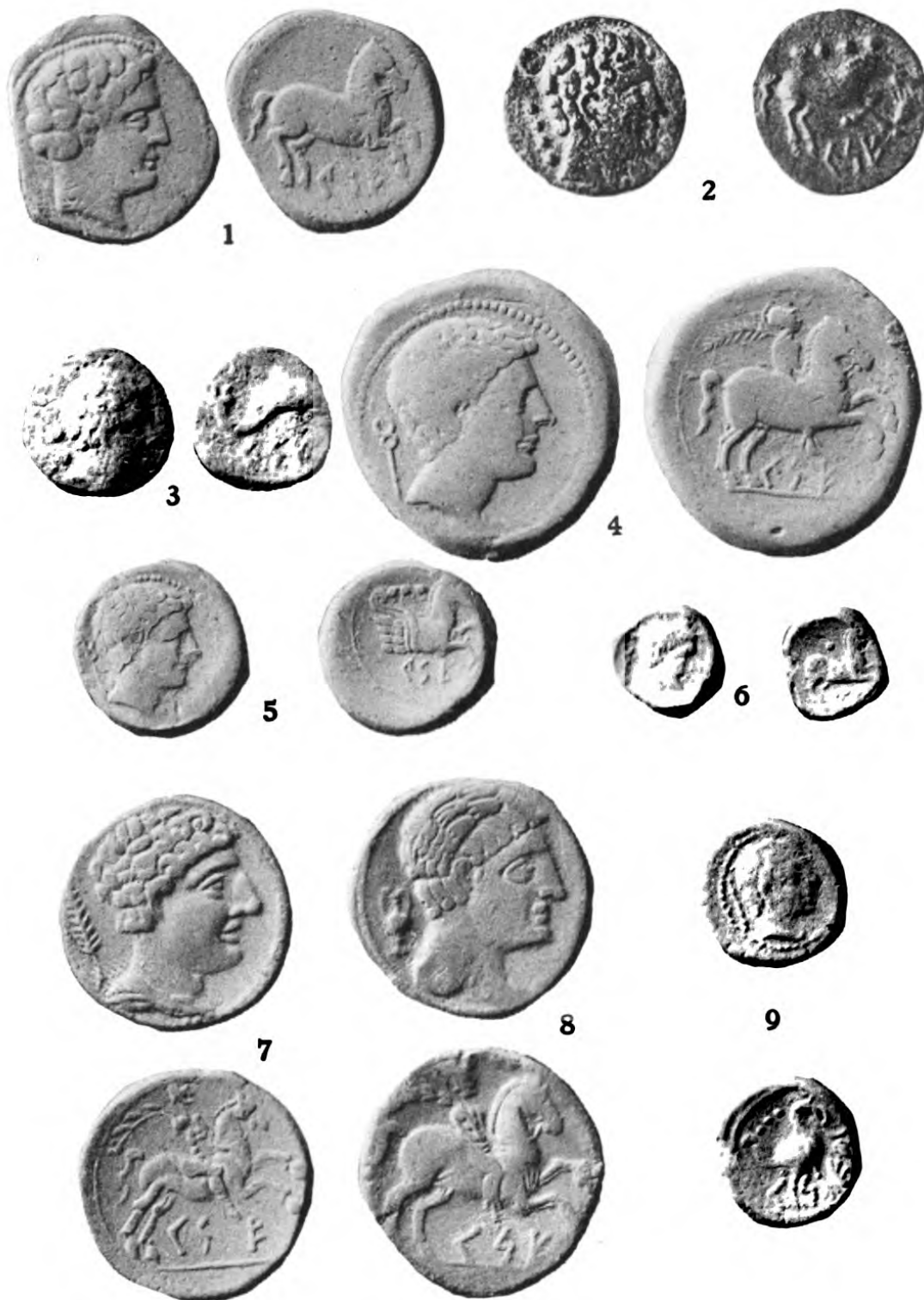


PLATE IV



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TARRACO



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PLATE V



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VI



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VII



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VIII



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TARRACO



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PLATE V



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VI



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VI



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VII



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VIII



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TARRACONENSIS



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PLATE VIII



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TARRACONENSIS



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ILERDENSIS

PLATE IX



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE X



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XI



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TARRACONENSIS



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ILERDENSIS

PLATE IX



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE X



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XI



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ILERDENSIS



PLATE XII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XIII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XIII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XIV



ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XV



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PLATE XVI



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PLATE XVII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XVIII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XVI



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XVII



ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XVIII



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XIX



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ILERDENSIS

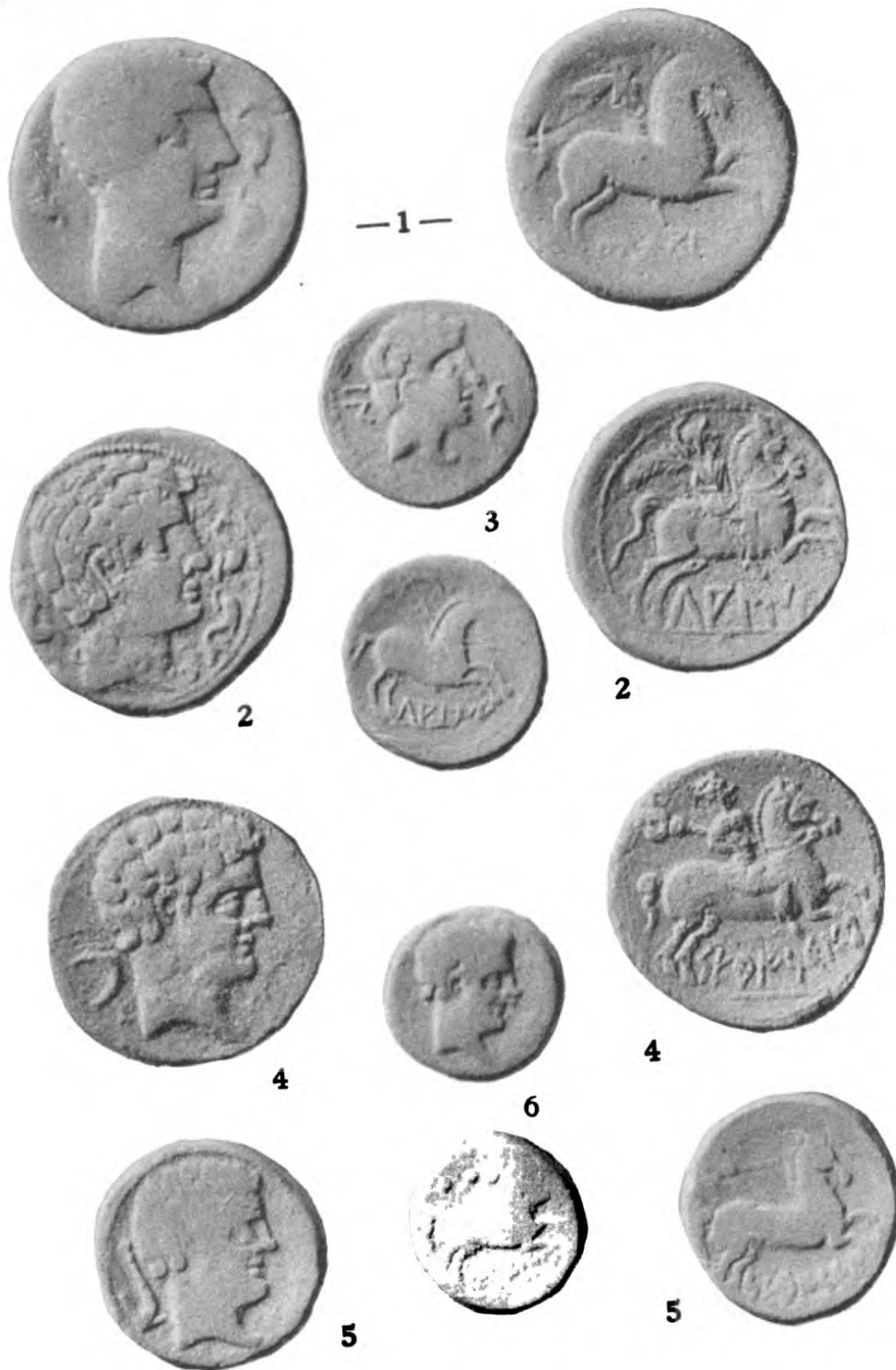


PLATE XIX



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PLATE XX



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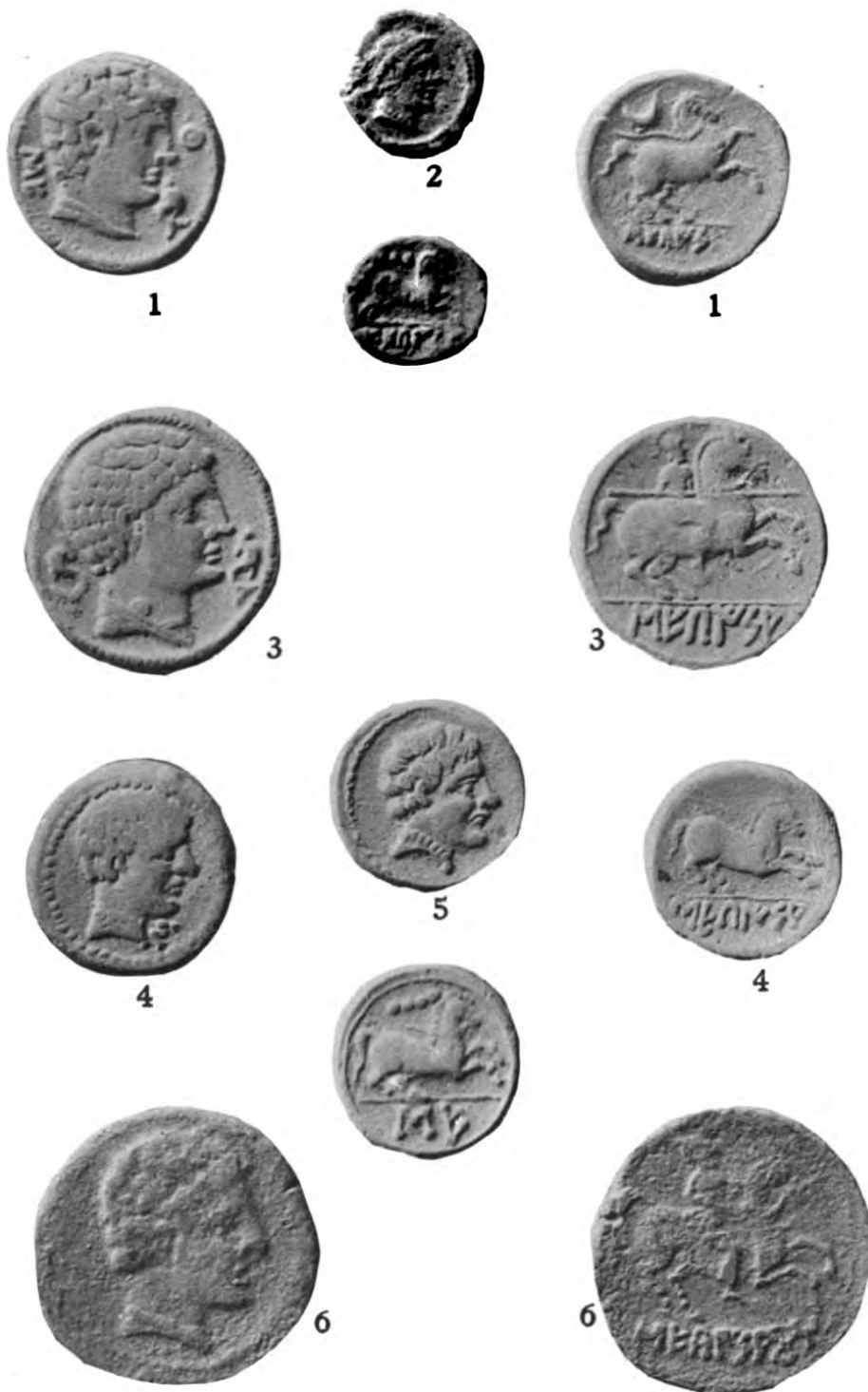
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ILERDENSIS



SAGUNTINA

PLATE XXI



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ILERDENSIS



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PLATE XX



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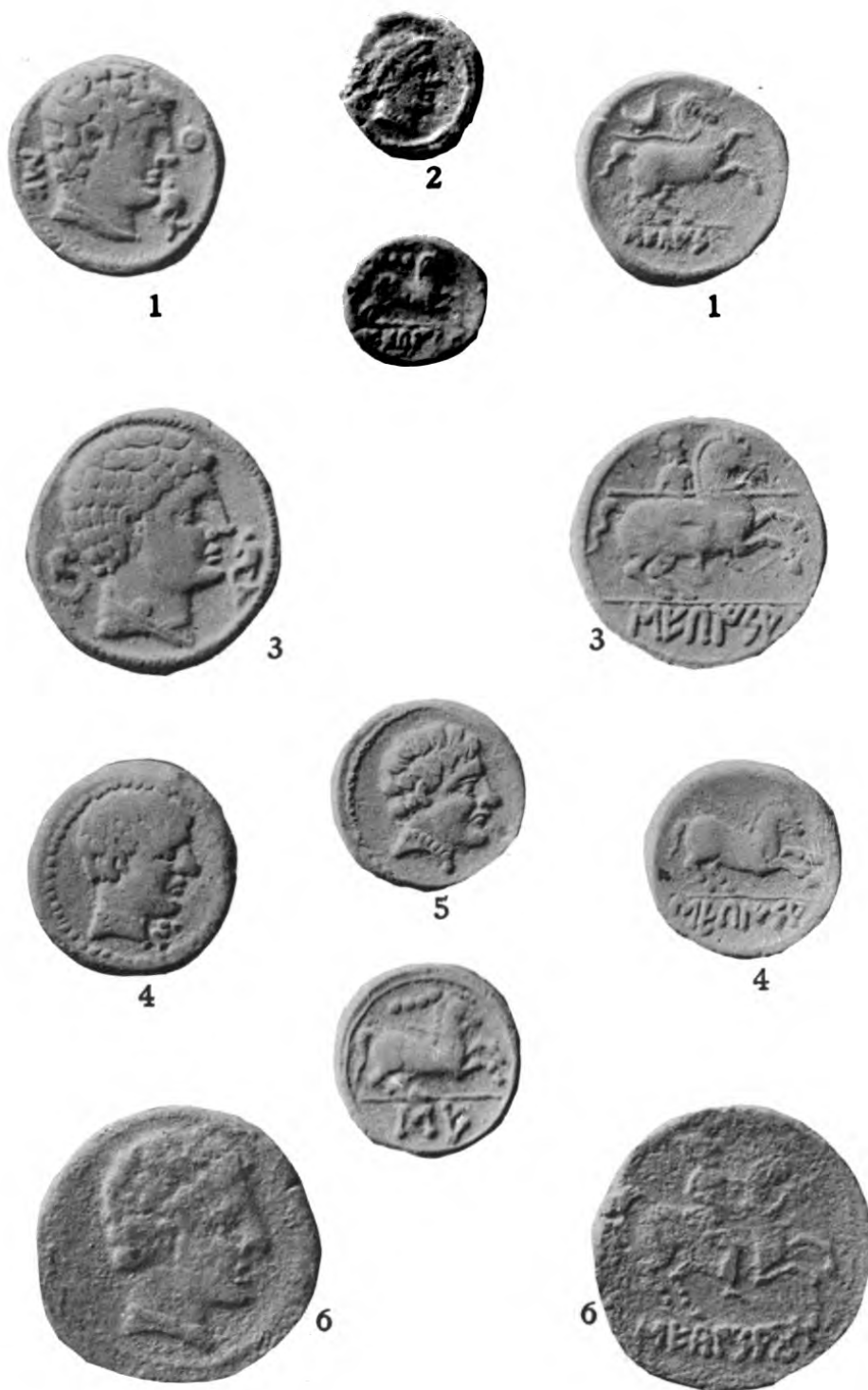
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ILERDENSIS



SAGUNTINA

PLATE XXI



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PLATE XXII



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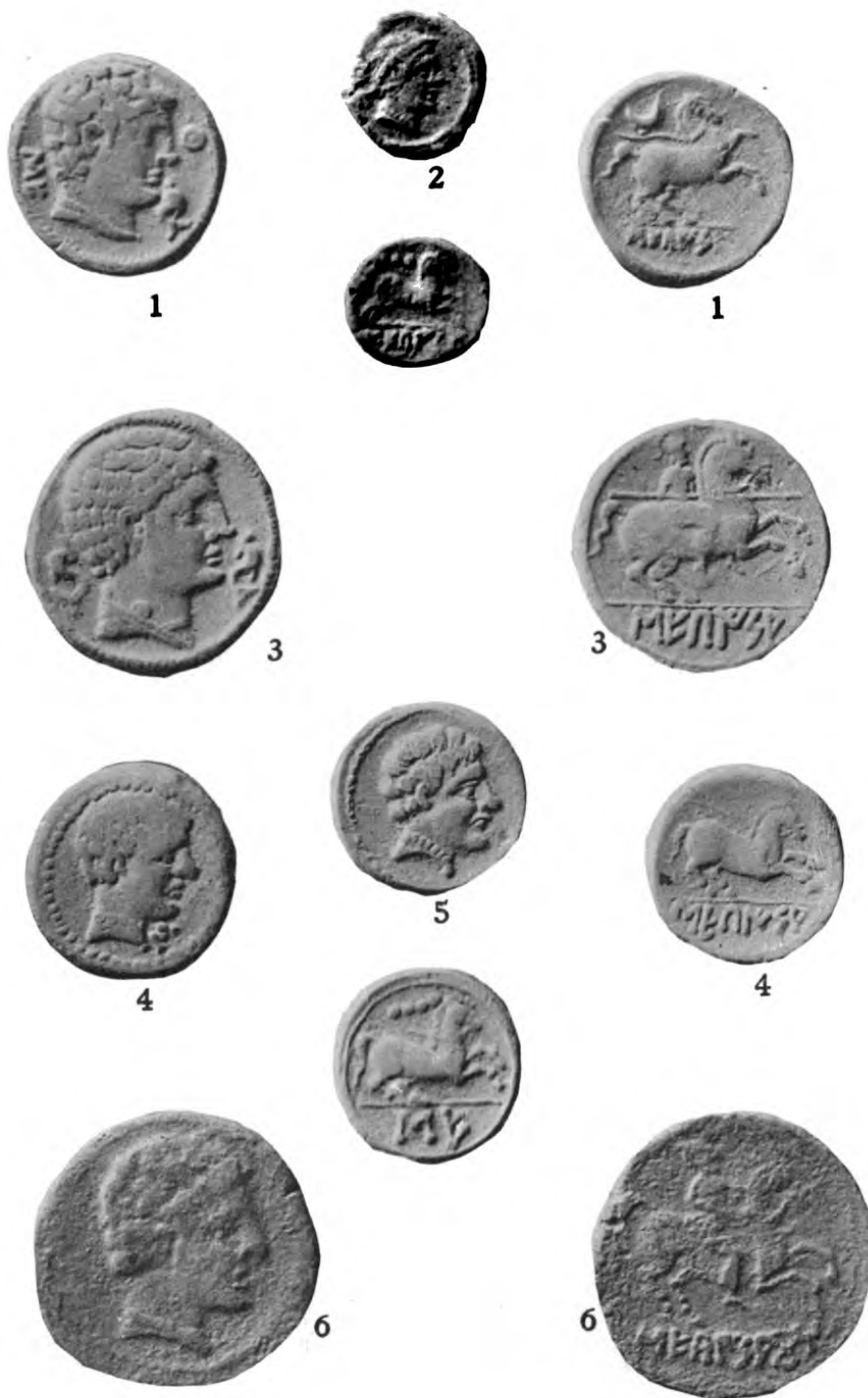
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ILERDENSIS



SAGUNTINA

PLATE XXI



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PLATE XXII



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SAGUNTINA



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PLATE XXIII



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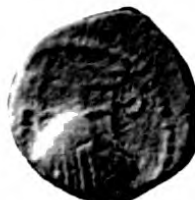
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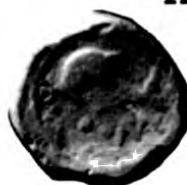
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SAGUNTINA



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PLATE XXIV



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PLATE XXV



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXVI



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SAGUNTINA



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PLATE XXIV



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PLATE XXV



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXVI



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXVII



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXVIII



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXIX



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POMPAELONENSIS



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PLATE XXX



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POMPAELONENSIS



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PLATE XXXI



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TURIASONENSIS



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PLATE XXXII



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OSCENSIS



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PLATE XXIX



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POMPAELONENSIS



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PLATE XXX



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PLATE XXXI



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PLATE XXXII



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TURIASONENSIS



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TURIASONENSIS



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PLATE XXXIV



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CALAGURRITANA

PLATE XXXV



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CALAGURRITANA



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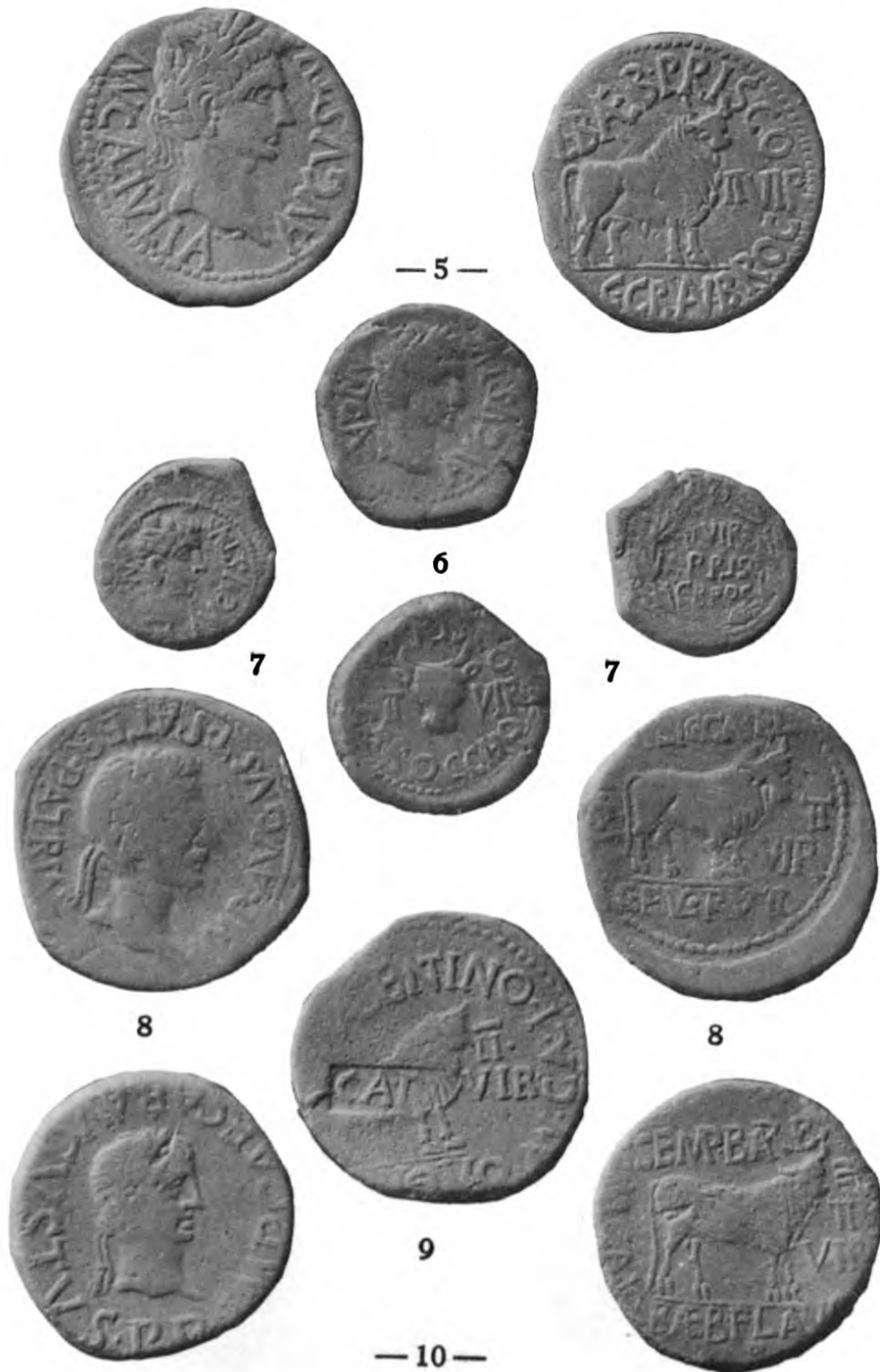


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PLATE XXXVI



CALAGURRITANA



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TURIASONENSIS



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CALAGURRITANA



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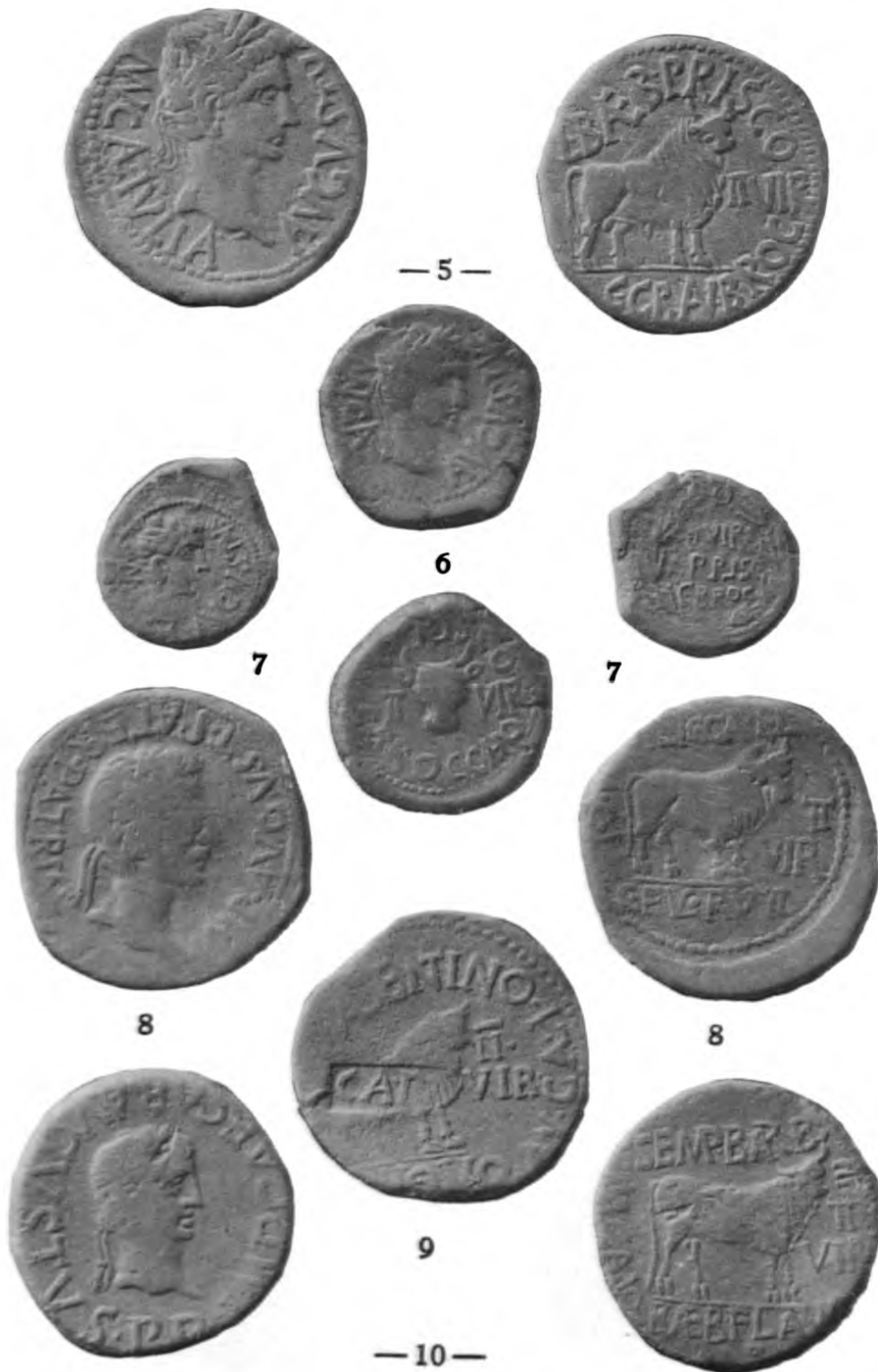


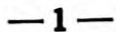
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PLATE XXXVI





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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAMS

No. 51



THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL ORDERS

BY

ALAN W. HAZELTON

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1932

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Badge of the Imperial Order of Saint Andrew



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BY

ALAN W. HAZELTON



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1932

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THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL ORDERS

BY ALAN W. HAZELTON

PREFACE

In the course of writing this monograph, the author received valuable assistance from different persons. H. I. M. Kyrille Vladimirovitch, most graciously ordered certain data to be sent to the author. Major-General Theodore Alexanderovitch Lodijensky, formerly of the Russian imperial army, assisted in the translation and kindly allowed the author to examine and measure his own Russian orders and those of his grandfather. Mr. Boris Mihaelovitch Dakserhof ably assisted in the translation. The author also wishes to thank Mr. V. Gsovsky for his assistance in securing certain authoritative books on the subject of Russian orders. Last but not least, the kind co-operation and encouragement of Messrs. Howland Wood, Sydney P. Noe, and Harrold E. Gillingham has guided the author through all his researches.

In gathering material for this monograph, the author has used two Russian books more than any others. Such authors as Burke, Wahlen, Trost, de Montalbo and others have caused much confusion because of mis-statements. The author considered it best to draw his information as far as possible

from Russian sources. "Istoritchesky Otcherk Russisky Ordenov y Sbornik Osnovnik Ordenske Statutov" ("Historical Description of the Russian Orders and Complete Original Statutes of the Orders"), published in Saint Petersburg in 1891, by the Chancellor of the Russian Orders, General Adjutant Count I. I. Vorontzoff-Dashkoff; and "Russisky Imperatorsky y Czarsky Ordena" ("Russian Imperial and Royal Orders") published in Saint Petersburg in 1901, by authority of the Grand Chancellor of the Russian Orders, General Aide-de-Camp Baron Fredericks have supplied most of the information.

INTRODUCTION

In all countries, honorary distinctions have been conferred on persons who have rendered services to their sovereigns or to the state. In Russia, during the Muscovite period, these distinctions took the form of gifts of land and presents of many kinds. Cups of precious metals set with gems, furs of high value, finely made weapons, and robes of gold or silver cloth were customary awards.

Not until the reign of Peter the Great were decorations of honor, as we know them today, conferred. After the travels of this great organizer through Europe, the first Russian order of knighthood was instituted. During these travels, Peter had been much impressed with the French Order of the Holy Ghost and the English Order of the Garter. Upon his return to Russia, and after quelling the rebellion of the Strelitzi, Peter founded the Order of Saint Andrew. From that time, Orders of Knighthood and Decorations of Merit were instituted and conferred by the Russian rulers.

In order to clarify what follows, a list of the emperors and empresses of Russia, with the dates of their reigns, follows:

Peter the First, 1682-1725.

Catherine I, 1725-1727.

Peter II, 1727-1730.

Anna Ivanovna, 1730–1740.

Ivan VI, 1740–1741.

Elizabeth I, 1741–1761.

Peter III, 1761–1762.

Catherine II, the Great, 1762–1796.

Paul I, 1796–1801.

Alexander I, 1801–1825.

Nicholas I, 1825–1855.

Alexander II, 1855–1881.

Alexander III, 1881–1894.

Nicholas II, 1894–1917.

Following the abdication of the Emperor Nicholas II, a provisional government functioned for several months, and was replaced by the Soviet government.

That the reader may better understand the political background of the Polish orders which were brought into the Russian system of orders, the following bit of Polish-Russian history is necessary. In 1733, Catherine the Great, by means of bribery and the presence of Russian troops, caused the elevation to the Polish throne of August III, Elector of Saxony. This election caused the Polish Wars of the Succession which were fought between the adherents of the king and certain Polish noblemen. At his death, Catherine placed on the Polish throne her former lover, Stanislaus August Poniatovsky. He reigned from 1764 till 1795. In 1793 the Poles rose against the Russians and Prussians because

of the partitioning of Poland. Napoleon I created a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. He placed King Frederick Augustus of Saxony upon the Grand-Ducal throne. The defeat of the French in 1812 and 1813, brought about the fall of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Congress of Vienna in 1815, rearranged the partition of Poland. Prussia, Austria and Russia each received parts of Poland. Out of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, Russia formed a Kingdom of Poland which was to be united with the Russian Empire by making the Emperor of Russia King of Poland also. On November 29th, 1830 a rebellion against the Russian rule was started in Warsaw. The Russian troops in Poland were driven out and a dictatorship established. By September 8th of the next year, however, the Russians had re-taken Warsaw and the Polish "Kingdom" was at an end. From that time until 1917, Poland was merely another Russian province.

Some rather interesting facts regarding the Russian orders should be mentioned before proceeding to the accounts of the orders. The decorations were conferred in conformity with a governmental system of rank, service and merit. The Order of Saint George alone was exempt from this system; this order was awarded for military bravery only. All civil officials were graded in ranks which paralleled those of the military and navy. As a man advanced in rank he was decorated with a higher order or a higher rank of an order he already possessed. In

war time, of course, these conditions were not strictly enforced.

Each Russian order had its statutes sanctioned by imperial decree. The originals of these statutes were kept by the Chapter of the Imperial and Royal orders. They were written on parchment and signed by the emperors and empresses themselves. These statutes were similar to the statutes of other nations. Each order had its individual administration until the reign of Paul I. In 1797, he instituted a central administration under the name of The Chancellory of the Orders. In 1798, the name was changed to The Chapter of the Russian Orders of Knighthood. In 1797, the emperor was named by personal decree a member of the Senate of the Chancellory of the Orders. Again, in 1832, the Emperor Nicholas I decided that the Chapter should take the name of the Chapter of the Russian Imperial and Royal Orders. In 1842, the Chancellor of the Chapter was made an official member of the Ministry of the Imperial Court. The Chancellor was the head of the Chapter of the Orders and a knight of the Order of Saint Andrew.

Certain peculiarities regarding the badges of the orders merit attention here. Prior to the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I, the Russian imperial eagle was represented on the decorations with the wings drooping. During the reign of Nicholas I the wings were raised and the eagle took on the appearance with which we are now more familiar.

Two rather interesting stories give the reason for this; the true reasons the author has been unable to discover. One account says that after the Polish rebellion was put down, the emperor stated "The Russian Eagle can never be defeated. It is not fitting that his wings should droop. Raise them." The other version was "The Russian Eagle soars higher than the Masonic Eagle. Let his wings be raised." This saying has reference to the Dekabrist revolution of 1825. This revolt was lead by a group of Free Masons who sought a more liberal form of government for Russia. As a result of this rebellion, the Masonic Order was prohibited in Russia.

The badges of the the orders as awarded to non-Christians had the representations of saints, crosses, and holy mottos replaced by the imperial eagle and by laurel wreaths.

When awarded to foreigners, Tcherkesses, and persons with the orders "with diamonds," no entrance fees were paid.

Although the expression "with diamonds" is used, most of these badges were set with very fine paste jewels. Such badges are very rare as they were seldom conferred.

After the Revolution of 1917, the provisional government continued to award the orders but in its name instead of in the name of the emperor. On February 9, 1919, the Omsk government of Admiral Kolchak issued an order which held in abeyance the

Order of Saint Andrew, The Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky, the Order of the White Eagle, and the first class of the Order of Saint Vladimir. This same edict abolished the Order of Saint Stanislav. The remaining orders and decorations were bestowed by that government until its downfall in 1920. The Omsk government and the White Army of General Denekine conferred a variation of the Saint George Order and Decoration, but very little can be ascertained about this variation.

Throughout this monograph the author has used the "old style" of dating. That is, the date May 10th in "old style" is May 23rd in our "new style" of dating. This "old style" of dating has been used so that there would be no mistake regarding dates as most of them have been taken directly from Russian books dated in the "old style." However, the dates in the introduction and notes are in the "new style."

Collectors will sometimes be puzzled by the difference in the sizes of the badges of Russian orders. After studying many contemporary portraits of Russian soldiers and statesmen the author has reached the conclusion that the size of the badges depends in a great measure on the period in which they were made and worn. A further study of the decorations belonging to the grandfather of General Theodore Lodijensky, and a comparison of them with the modern badges and with the above mentioned portraits confirms this conclusion. There is

further source of confusion; the first class badge of many orders was worn at the neck when the first class badge of a higher order was worn suspended from the sash. That is, the first class badge of Saint Stanislav might be worn at the neck when the first class badge of the Order of Saint Anna or Saint Vladimir was worn from the sash.

Quite frequently, one finds badges of the Russian orders enamelled in black instead of the prescribed color. This is particularly true of badges of the Orders of Saint Anna and Saint Stanislav. Badges with black enamel are un-official. In modern times "smart" officers had jewellers badges made with black enamel as a bit of *swank*. It is said that in the early days of the Russian orders the badges were frequently made with black enamel. However, the author can find no official statement to this effect. In general, with modern badges, one can state unqualifiedly that the black enamelled badges are specially made and not those officially issued by the government.

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In 1703, Peter accomplished the military exploit for which he had waited before accepting the order. In that year the Czar, ranking as a Captain of Bombardiers, captured two Swedish naval vessels. After this exploit, Admiral and Field-Marshal Count Golovine conferred the order on Peter in a portable field-chapel, following a Mass of Thanksgiving. At the same time, the order was conferred on the Governor of Schisselburg and Schlottsburg, Field-Marshal Menshikov.³ This officer had taken part in the engagement against the Swedes as a lieutenant in the company of Bombardiers commanded by Peter.

Peter the Great was the sixth Knight of the Order of Saint Andrew, the first five being the following:—1). Golovine, 2). Mazeppa, 3). the Ambassador to Russia from Brandenburg, Prinzen, 4). General-Field-Marshal Count Sheremetieff, and 5). the Chancellor of Saxony, Count Beychling. During the reign of the Emperor Peter the Great there were 38 knights of this order. Of this number 24 were Russians.

It is a peculiarity of this order that no special decree was issued relative to its establishment. It was not until the reign of the Emperor Paul I that the statutes of this order were published. This was done on the 15th of April, 1797. These statutes remained in effect until the Revolution of 1917.

The Order of Saint Andrew has always been held in the highest esteem. It was very rarely conferred

and then only on the highest and most distinguished officials of the empire. This order was bestowed only by the emperor on his own decision. The statutes do not specify the exact nature of the services for which the order might be conferred. All grand dukes and princes of the imperial blood with the title "Imperial Highness" received the order at baptism. Those princes of the imperial blood with the title "Highness" received it upon coming of age, while princes of the blood with the title "Serene Highness" received this order only at the pleasure of the emperor. Although with all other Russian orders, the ministers of the state recommended to the emperor prospective candidates for admission to the orders, this was not so with the Order of Saint Andrew, as the sole decision in this case rested with the emperor.

Anyone made a Knight of the Order of Saint Andrew became automatically a Knight of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky, the White Eagle, the first class of Saint Anna, and the first class of Saint Stanislav. This held true even of persons who otherwise did not possess these orders. After the victorious campaign against Napoleon, the Emperor Alexander I conferred the Order of Saint Andrew and, in consequence, the other orders, on His Grace the Duke of Wellington.

An interesting privilege was attached to membership in this order. At Russian military posts it was customary to have an exterior and interior guard.

After the last call of the day, "taps," at nine o'clock in the evening, it was not compulsory to turn out the full interior guard except to salute the emperor or the Minister of War. This honor, however, was also rendered to Knights of the Order of Saint Andrew when wearing either the sash or the collar of the order.

Knights of the Order of Saint Andrew ranked in the third class of court rank. They held the same rank as lieutenant-generals, even if not otherwise of that rank.

The Order of Saint Andrew has but one class. On admission to the order, each knight paid a fee of five hundred roubles. If awarded the order "with swords," an additional fee of two hundred and fifty roubles was paid. When receiving the order "with diamonds," no fee was exacted.

The holiday of the order was celebrated on the 30th of November. A high mass was celebrated on that day in the chapel of the order, the Cathedral of Saint Andrew on Vasiliefsky Island.⁴

The insignia of the order consists of a badge, a collar and a star.

The BADGE is a blue enamel Saint Andrew's cross⁵ superimposed on a triple-crowned double-headed eagle. On the cross is a representation of Saint Andrew, crucified. At the end of each arm of the cross is one of the Roman letters "S.A.P.R.," the initials of the words "Sanctus Andreas Patronus Russiae." On the breast of the eagle on the reverse,

the motto of the order, "For Faith and Loyalty" in Russian, is inscribed on a scroll. This badge is suspended from a wide light blue sash passed over the right shoulder to the left side, or from the collar. In the collection of Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham there is a fine specimen of this badge. It measures 82 mm. in height by 62 mm. in width.

The COLLAR is composed of three elements; first, the imperial eagle, bearing on its breast the arms of the City of Moscow, and holding the imperial sceptre and orb. The collar commences and ends with this ornament, which is repeated nine times. Second, a red-enamelled disk edged in gold surrounded by petal-formed rays, having a St. Andrew's cross of sky blue enamel superimposed and in each of the quarterings of the red center one of the Roman letters "S.A.P.R." This element is repeated seven times. Third, a shield surmounted by an imperial crown, and with the gold cipher of Peter the Great on the blue field of the shield. Behind the shield are grouped green and white regimental banners and other instruments of warfare. This device is also repeated seven times. These three ornaments are connected by oval rings of gold.

The STAR is silver, having in the center, on a golden field, the triple-crowned double-headed eagle with the Saint Andrew's cross. This center medallion is surrounded by a band of sky-blue enamel, inscribed with the motto of the order in golden



Star of the Imperial Order of Saint Andrew

letters above two connected laurel branches. This star is worn on the left breast. A star in the collection of the author measures 90 mm.

For military service, two crossed swords are added to the badge and the star. For the former they are placed between the eagle and the crown and intertwined with the blue enamelled scroll. On the star, they are placed so that the center medallion covers the point at which the swords cross. When a person, already decorated with the Order of Saint Andrew for military services, is also awarded the insignia "with diamonds" for civil services, the swords on the star are placed above the center medallion while those on the eagle remain between the eagle and crown.

Non-Christians receiving the insignia of this order have the representation of the saint, the monogram and the cross replaced by the imperial Russian Eagle, and the motto by laurel leaves.

The collar replaces the sash, on the holidays of the orders, when wearing the sash of another order, and at ceremonies of the imperial court by special order of His Imperial Majesty, and when wearing the sash of the Orders of Saint George, Saint Vladimir, and of Saint Alexander-Nevsky.

THE ORDER OF SAINT CATHERINE.

In 1711, Peter the Great was engaged in a war against Turkey, for the furtherance of Russian interests on the Black Sea.⁶ When Peter set out upon this campaign, the Empress Catherine Alexeevna persuaded him to permit her to accompany the army. The end of this war came on the banks of the River Pruth, when thirty-eight thousand Russians found themselves surrounded by two hundred thousand Turks. In this dangerous position the courage and intelligence of the empress was clearly demonstrated. Gathering all the money and jewels in the Russian camp, she sent them as a gift to the Grand Vizier of Turkey. By this action she caused the Grand Vizier to make lenient terms with Peter, and thus saved the entire army.

In commemoration of this, Peter established the "Order of Saint Catherine, or the Liberator" on the name-day of the empress, November 24th, 1714, at Saint Petersburg. On this day, Peter and the empress together with all the imperial court and many high officials, celebrated a special high mass. After this service Peter himself decorated the empress in the presence of the entire court.

The statutes of the order, printed in Saint Petersburg in 1713, were edited in the name of the empress and began as follows:—

"We have resolved to establish an Order of Merit in commemoration of the deliverance of the Army,

Our Beloved Husband, and Ourselves from the overwhelming force of the Turkish Armies. Through the undaunted bravery, self-control, and ability of Our Husband, inspired by God, who alone was able to save us, We were delivered from the hands of the Infidels. In memory of this Divine Grace, We shall confer this Order of Merit on all married and unmarried women of spotless and religious character, that the remembrance of the Mercies of God may remain with us always."

An empress of Russia was always the Grand Mistress of the order. There was also a Deputy-Grand Mistress. If a dowager empress was alive she remained Grand Mistress and the reigning empress was her Deputy-Grand Mistress. If there was no dowager empress (or upon the death of the dowager empress) the reigning empress was Grand Mistress. When the reigning empress was Grand Mistress, her Deputy was the wife of the heir to the throne. In case the heir to the throne was unmarried, the Deputy-Grand-Mistress was the first Grand Duchess in rank, either married or single.

Grand Duchesses of the imperial family received the order at their baptism. The other Grand Duchesses received it when they reached the age of twenty-one. Other Ladies of the order were chosen from families of the highest nobility only and from foreign royal families.

The Grand Mistress of the order personally decorated each Lady of the two classes into which the

order was divided. In the absence of the Grand Mistress, this ceremony was performed by the Deputy-Grand Mistress. Each Russian lady admitted to the order gave an oath to always be faithful to His Majesty and never to be connected in any way with a plot against him or his autocratic power. This oath was sworn on the New Testament in the presence of the Grand Mistress (or Deputy-Grand Mistress), and the Ladies of the Grand Cross and Lesser Cross who were present in the imperial household. Part of the ceremony of investiture was a special high mass celebrated by the head of the Russian Church. In the case of Russian ladies absent from the court, the same oath was taken wherever they might be living at the time. Those on whom the order was conferred while children, took the oath at the age of sixteen years.

Upon admission to the grade of Lesser Cross, each Lady paid to the Capital of the Order a fee of two hundred fifty roubles. Ladies of the Grand Cross paid four hundred roubles. This money was used to help maintain some charitable institution.

The Chapel of the order was located in the School of Saint Catherine at Petrograd. This was a very exclusive school for girls of the highest nobility only.

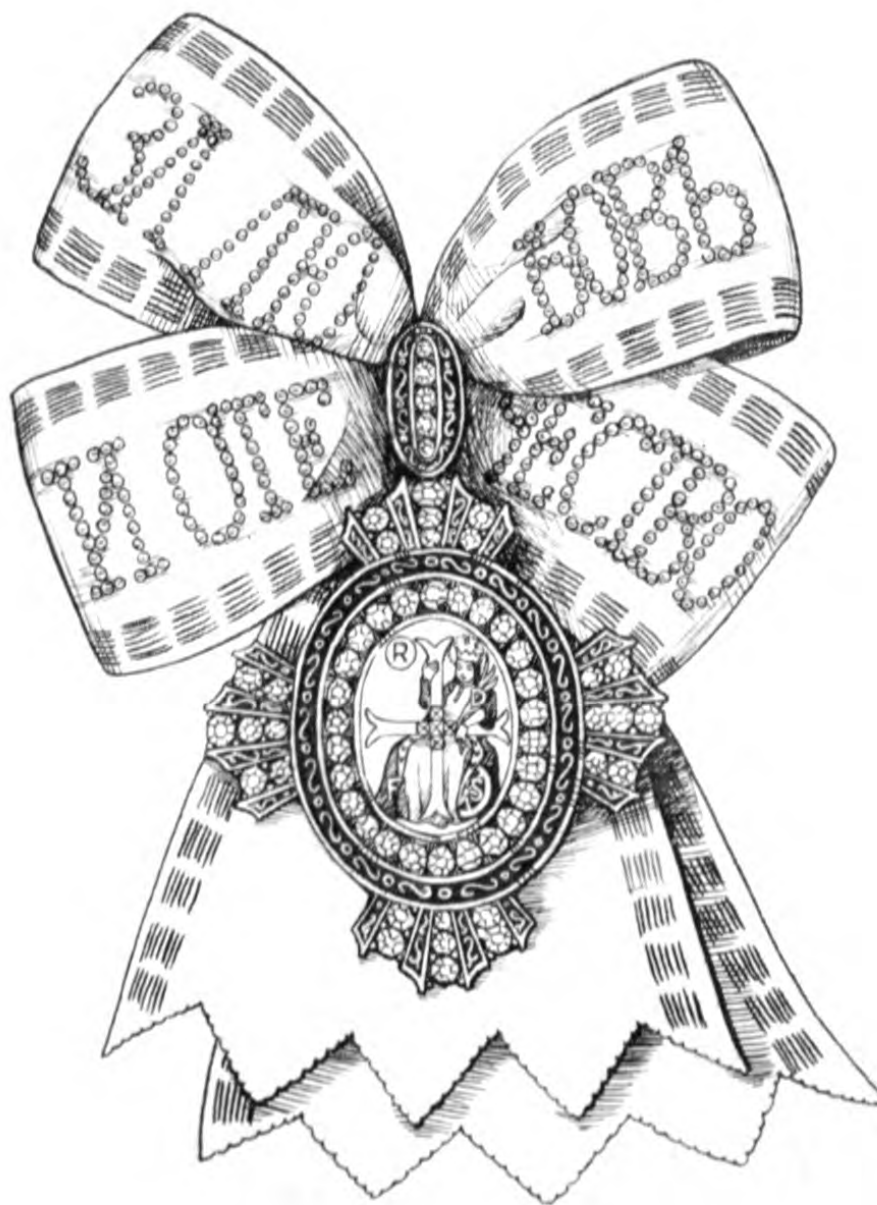
The Order of Saint Catherine is divided into two classes, the Grand Cross and the Lesser Cross. The number of ladies of each class was limited. There were only twelve ladies of the Grand Cross besides

members of the imperial family and other royal families. The number of the Ladies of the Lesser Cross was limited to ninety-four.

The insignia of the Grand Cross are a badge, a sash, and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross. The arms of the cross consist of four rays separated by brilliants. The center of the cross is an oval medallion surrounded by large diamonds. On this medallion Saint Catherine is pictured, seated and wearing a white toga with a red over-mantel lined with ermine. The saint is crowned and holds a palm branch in one hand. In the other hand is a large cross having in its center a small Greek cross. At her feet is a golden wheel. Around her head are the Russian letters "C.B.E.," (signifying "The Holy Martyr Catherine"), arranged in a gold halo. Between the arms of the large cross are the Roman letters "D.S.F.R." (Domine Salvum Fac Regem). On the reverse is an eagles' nest on a rock. At the foot of the rock are two eagles bringing nourishment for the two eaglets in the nest above. Above the aerie is a white semi-circular band bearing the words "AEQUAT MUNIA COMPARIS," ("Share the Duties of Society"). The ring which holds the cross to the ribbon is decorated with diamonds.

The SASH is a broad band of red ribbon edged with silver. The bow of the sash has the motto of the order, "For Love and Fatherland," embroidered in silver Russian letters on its four parts. The sash



Badge of the Order of Saint Catherine

is worn over the right shoulder to the left side and has the badge attached to it.

The STAR is silver. It has eight groups of rays surmounted by a medallion. This center medallion is of red enamel and bears a silver cross above a silver half wheel. Around this device is a red enamel band inscribed with the motto of the order in gold letters (Russian). At the beginning of the motto, (and above the cross), is a small gold imperial crown. This star is worn on the left breast.

The Lesser Cross has a badge of the same form as the Grand Cross, but smaller and with fewer diamonds. This badge is worn on the left breast suspended from a bow of red ribbon edged with silver.

THE ORDER OF SAINT
ALEXANDER-NEVSKY

In 1724 the remains of Saint Alexander-Nevsky⁷ were removed from the city of Vladimir to Saint Petersburg, and were enshrined there in the Chapel of the Saint Alexander-Nevsky Lavra. At this time, and in honor of the victory of Saint Alexander-Nevsky over the Swedes, Peter the Great conceived the idea of instituting an order of knighthood named after this saint and placed under his protection. However, before this could be done, the Emperor was taken ill and died. His wife, the Empress Catherine the First, carrying out the wishes of Peter, founded the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky shortly after her coronation. There is almost no doubt that Peter planned the order as a purely military one similar to the French Order of Saint Louis, and intended to make it as different from the Order of Saint Andrew as the Order of Saint Louis differed from the Order of the Holy Ghost. This idea was expressed in the ribbons. The badge of the Order of Saint Andrew hangs from a blue ribbon as does that of the Order of the Holy Ghost. The badge of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky hangs from a red ribbon like the Order of Saint Louis, a purely military award.

The Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky was first awarded on May 21st, 1725 on the occasion of the

marriage of the Grand Duchess Anna Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great, and Karl Frederick, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.⁸ On August 30th of the same year the empress conferred the insignia of the order upon herself.

The first rules of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky are found in the statutes of the four Russian orders formulated by the Emperor Paul I, on April 15th, 1797. The statutes state that when Peter the Great was preparing for the Persian War,⁹ he planned to confer this order of knighthood in memory of Saint Alexander-Nevsky, who was renowned for his bravery and chivalry. However, as the death of Peter occurred before he could do this, his wife, heiress to the throne, carried out his wishes, giving this order for "Labor for the Fatherland."

The Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky ranked third in the order of precedence of Russian orders of knighthood, following after the Orders of Saint Andrew and Saint Catherine. The reigning Emperor was Grand Master of the order, of which there is only one class.

The insignia of the order are a badge, a sash and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross pattée of four arms enamelled red with a gold imperial eagle between each arm. The center of the obverse of the cross is a round medallion having an equestrian figure of Saint Alexander-Nevsky in colored enamel. The center of the reverse bears the initials of the saint,



Badge of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky

"S.A.," entwined and surmounted by a princely coronet. The author has the badge of this order awarded to Cardinal Antonelli.⁵ This badge measures 54 mm. x 54 mm. The example in the museum of the American Numismatic Society measures 55 mm. x 55 mm.

The SASH is a band of red watered silk 100 mm. wide. It is worn over the left shoulder to the right side and the badge is suspended from it.

The STAR is silver. It consists of eight groups of rays and has a round medallion. The center of this medallion is enamelled white and bears the crowned initials of the saint, "S.A.," in gold. Around this center is a red enamelled band bearing in gold the motto of the order in Russian letters, ("Labor and Fatherland"). The initials in the center are surmounted by a prince's coronet. The author has the metal star and an embroidered star of this order, which are companion pieces to the badge. The metal star measures 87 mm., while the embroidered star is 83 mm.

The insignia of the order were sometimes conferred "with diamonds," which was considered a higher reward than the order "without diamonds." The star of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky "with diamonds" in the collection of the American Numismatic Society measures 95 mm.

When awarded for military deeds against the enemy, crossed swords were added to the insignia. They were placed between the arms of the cross, and

on the star, crossed, under the medallion. If, after being awarded the order for military services, the same person received the insignia "with diamonds," the crossed swords were placed *above* the center medallion of the star, and *above* the arms of the cross. The order "with diamonds" was conferred on foreigners as well as on Russians. When the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky was conferred on non-Christians the monogram of the saint and his picture were replaced by the imperial eagle.

When the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky was received, a fee of four hundred roubles was paid to the Chapter of the Order, to be used in charitable work. The order "with swords" conferred after the order "without swords" called for an additional fee of two hundred roubles. The order "with diamonds" did not involve a fee.

The special holiday of the order was August 13th. The church of the order is named the "Sabornaya Church in the Troitski Alexander-Nevsky Monastery," and there the remains of Saint Alexander-Nevsky are buried.

On the day of the general holiday of all the orders, November 8th, the knights of this order were placed between the knights of the Order of Saint Anna and the knights of the Order of Saint Andrew. If, on this same day, there was an official dinner, the knights of the order were placed on the right of the emperor near the knights of Saint Andrew.



Star of the Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky

THE ORDER OF THE WHITE EAGLE

Originally the Order of the White Eagle was a Polish order.¹⁰ It was founded in 1325 by King Vladislav I, the Short, King of Poland, in order to commemorate the marriage of his son, Casimir, with Anna, Princess of Lithuania.¹¹ It was intended as a reward for the faithfulness of his nobles. The Order of the White Eagle was very seldom conferred. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Order was conferred from time to time but it was never an active Order. On November 1st, 1705, the Polish King August II, who was also the Grand Duke of Saxony,¹² revived the Order. In the small town of Laggo in Mecklenburg, on the 13th of November, 1712, King August II conferred the Order on the Emperor Peter the Great as reciprocation for the Order of Saint Andrew which the Emperor had conferred on him.

After the division of Poland in 1795, the Order of the White Eagle ceased to exist until the formation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon I.¹³ At that time the King of Saxony, Frederick-August became Grand-Duke of Warsaw, and re-established all the Polish orders, reserving for himself the Grand Mastership of the Order of the White Eagle.

After the defeat of Napoleon and the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw to Russia, the



Badge of the Order of the White Eagle

emperor Alexander I continued to confer the White Eagle on Poles. However, after the Polish Insurrection of 1831, the Emperor Nicholas I associated the Polish orders with the Russian orders and made certain changes in the insignia and statutes. From that time to 1917, the Russian Emperors conferred the Order of the White Eagle on both Poles and Russians. On the 4th of February (new style), 1921, the Diet of the Polish Republic revived the Polish Order of the White Eagle.

The Order of the White Eagle has always had but one class. The insignia, however, have undergone many changes. In 1705, the cross of the order was a gold Maltese cross, red-enamelled with an edging of white enamel. Between the arms of the cross were gold rays. In the center of the obverse was the gold, white-enamelled, Polish Eagle crowned. On the reverse center was an oval bearing a white-enamel cross with the crown and monogram of August II. The star of the order at this period was a silver star of eight points with the cross of the order surmounting it. The eagle did not appear on the star but the motto of the order was inscribed on the arms of the cross. At first this star was embroidered—later it became a metal star.

When the order was made a Russian order in 1831, the insignia were radically changed. They remained unchanged until the fall of the Russian Empire. The insignia are as follows:—

The BADGE of the Imperial and Royal Russian Order of the White Eagle is a gold double-headed, black-enamelled Russian eagle crowned, having on its breast the gold, red-enamelled Maltese cross of the Polish Order, with the crowned white-enamelled Polish eagle in turn surmounting the cross. The heads and claws of the eagle are gold and the wings and tail are edged with the same metal. Each eagle-head is separately crowned, and above the eagle, and connected with it by means of a blue enamelled ribbon, is the Imperial Russian crown enamelled in colors. In the center of the reverse is a white-enamelled gold cross having red-enamelled borders and gold flames between the arms of the cross. In the center of the cross is an oval gold medallion bearing the gold letter "M." The example of this badge in the collection of the author measures 87 mm. x 63 mm. In the collection of the American Numismatic Society is a badge measuring 90 mm. x 60 mm., and Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham has a badge which measures only 45 mm. x 25 mm. This latter badge is probably the badge of the order which is meant to be worn on the left breast when the wearer possesses and wears the badge of the Order of Saint Andrew. It is possible, however, that it is a small badge made during the middle of the 19th century and meant to be worn at the neck. The author has been unable to examine the badge so cannot definitely judge which it may be. When worn on the left breast it was placed immediately following

the badge of the 4th class of the Order of Saint Vladimir or the badge of the 4th class of the Order of Saint George. During the middle of the 19th century it was the custom to wear badges smaller than modern badges. Photographs bear testimony to this practise.

The SASH was originally a wide light-blue band but it was changed in 1831, to dark blue. This sash is worn from the left shoulder to the right side, and from it hangs the badge.

The STAR is gold. It has eight groups of rays and a round medallion. On this gold medallion is placed a white-enamelled cross with red-enamelled edges having at its center a gold rosette, and with gold flames between the arms. Enclosing this center device is a light-blue enamelled band bearing the gold motto of the order, "PRO FIDE, REGE ET LEGE." The star in the author's collection measures 89 mm. The American Numismatic Society has two stars in its collection, one of which measures 90 mm. and the other 95 mm.

The insignia of the Order of the White Eagle of the Polish Republic are as follows:—

The BADGE is the same as that of the time of August II, except that the reverse bears the legend "Za Ojczyzne i Narod" ("For the Fatherland and the Nation").

The STAR is an eight-pointed silver star bearing the same cross as described above, but with the letters "R.P." in place of the rosette.



Star of the Order of the White Eagle

The badge measures 78 mm. x 70 mm. The star measures 80 mm. x 78 mm. with the superimposed cross measuring 48 mm.

The Russian Order of the White Eagle, when awarded for military deeds, has two crossed swords of gold placed between the eagle and the imperial crown. The star has two crossed swords which meet under the medallion.

When awarded to non-Christians the Imperial eagle replaces the cross.

The insignia of the Order "with diamonds" was sometimes awarded as an especial honor and was considered a higher decoration than the insignia "without diamonds."

It is interesting to note that Lieutenant F. V. Greene, United States Army, in his book "Army Life in Russia," published in 1880, says that at that time the order was not held in very high esteem, being conferred on a commanding general who had done his duty in a campaign but had not achieved success.

THE ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE
THE MARTYR

From the time of its inception until the [Bolshevik] Revolution of 1917, the Order of Saint George the Martyr was the most sought-after of all the Russian orders of knighthood. Except for a short period, it was awarded for one service only—extreme bravery in the face of the enemy. It easily takes rank with the English Victoria Cross and the American Medal of Honor. Even at the present time, the knights of this order who are now *émigrés* have formed themselves into local societies of the Knights of Saint George, and observe Saint George's Day as one of their feast days.

The Order of Saint George the Martyr¹⁴ was established on the 26th of November, 1769, by the Empress Catherine II. On the same day, the Empress decorated herself with the insignia of the first class. The order was established exclusively for officers of the army and navy, as an incentive and as a reward for meritorious conduct and distinguished service. By the imperial ukase establishing this order, it was divided into four classes, and it was ordered that the decoration be worn at all times.

On September 22nd, 1782, the Council of the Order was founded. This council consisted of Knights of the Order of Saint George only. The

council, the archives and the treasury of the order were established in Chesma near Saint Petersburg in a house especially donated for that purpose. The council was ordered to investigate all recommendations for the order, which function had heretofore been performed by the Army and Navy College.

During the reign of the Emperor Paul I, the decoration was not awarded. After the accession Alexander I, the order was re-instated in "its former glory."

By the statutes given it by the Empress Catherine the Great, the Order of Saint George might be conferred on all officers of the army who had served for twenty-five years, and on all naval officers who had made eighteen sea voyages. Due to the fact that the number of knights of the order rapidly increased, new statutes were issued on the 15th of May, 1855, changing the qualifications necessary to receive the order. These statutes provided that the only qualification for which this order might be conferred was that of extreme bravery on the field of battle. These same statutes ordered that the first and second classes of the order were to be awarded by the personal decree of the emperor, and that the third and fourth classes were to be awarded by the Georgevsky Council. The statutes also emphasized the fact that neither past service nor position nor wounds received in battle were to influence the decision as to the award of the order.



Badge of the Order of Saint George The Martyr

The decoration was to be conferred solely "for exceptional prowess displayed for the greater glory of the Russian arms."

In 1801, the Georgevsky Council submitted a petition to the Emperor Alexander I, asking him to bestow upon himself the Order of Saint George. The emperor replied that he would postpone his decision. Upon the return of the emperor from the campaign of 1805, the Council of Saint George again submitted to His Imperial Majesty the same petition begging him to confer upon himself the first class of the order. The emperor thanked the Council but refused to grant its petition saying that he was not in actual command of the army and had had no occasion to display his personal courage. Later the emperor consented to accept the order, but only the fourth class. As a result of this attitude, the Order of Saint George was held in even higher repute.

In 1838, the Emperor Nicholas I expressed his desire to be awarded the fourth class of the order provided that the council of the order, upon examining the record of his 25 years service, should find him deserving of the award. Apparently the Council found His Imperial Majesty so deserving for the emperor was later awarded the order.

While still Czarevitch, Alexander Nicolaivitch, later the Emperor Alexander II, was awarded the Order of Saint George, fourth class, for the distinguished part played by him in the campaigns against the Tcherkesses.¹⁵

In 1877, the Czarevitch Alexander Alexandrovitch, later the Emperor Alexander III, was awarded the second class of the Order of Saint George during the war with Turkey.¹⁶

On the 25th of October, 1915, the late Emperor Nicholas II received the fourth class of the order.

By an Imperial ukase of April 11th, 1849, the names of all those who had been members of the Order of Saint George since its foundation, were engraved on marble plaques installed in the Georgievsky Hall of the Grand Imperial Palace at Moscow. By the same ukase all officers decorated with any class of the order were granted the right of hereditary nobility.

All knights of the order, upon retirement, had the right to wear their uniform without having had the ten years of service required of other officers before receiving this privilege.

The Council of the Order of Saint George consisted of all the knights of the first and second classes present, and twelve knights of the third and fourth classes.

Commanders of the army and navy had the right, without asking the imperial permission, of forming a council of not more than seven and not less than three knights of the order, to examine the qualifications of officers who had distinguished themselves. Following the decision of this council, the Commander advised His Imperial Majesty of these qualifications. This temporary council was naturally formed only during war time.



Star of the Order of Saint George the Martyr

The reigning emperor or empress was always ex-officio the Grand Master of the Order.

The Order of Saint George the Martyr was divided into four classes. The insignia of the first class are a badge, a sash and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross *pattée*. The arms are white-enamelled. In the center is a gold medallion bearing the mounted figure of Saint George slaying the dragon. The saint and the dragon are of colored enamel. The reverse of the cross is the same as for the obverse except that in the medallion are the initials of the saint in gold letters.

The SASH is a broad ribbon of watered silk having a central black stripe, two orange stripes and a black stripe for each edge.

The STAR is a gold, diamond-shaped plaque. In the center is a raised medallion. The center of this medallion is either yellow enamel or gold with the monogram of the saint in Russian letters. This center is encircled by a black-enamelled band having in gold letters the Russian words meaning "For Service and for Bravery." The author has been unable to ascertain the size of the badge and the sash. In his collection is a star of the order, which measures 80 mm.

The insignia of the second class are a badge and a star.

The BADGE is of the same design as the badge of the first class but is smaller, being worn at the neck. The badge of this class in the author's collection measures 57 mm.

The STAR is exactly the same as the star for the first class.

The insignia of the third class is a BADGE worn at the neck. This badge is exactly the same as for the second class and is of the same size. There is no star worn with the third-class badge.

The insignia of the fourth class is also a BADGE worn on the left breast before all other Russian orders, decorations and medals. This badge although of the same design as that for the third class, is smaller. The author has a badge of this class which measures 35 mm. and which is suspended from a ribbon measuring 25 mm. in width.

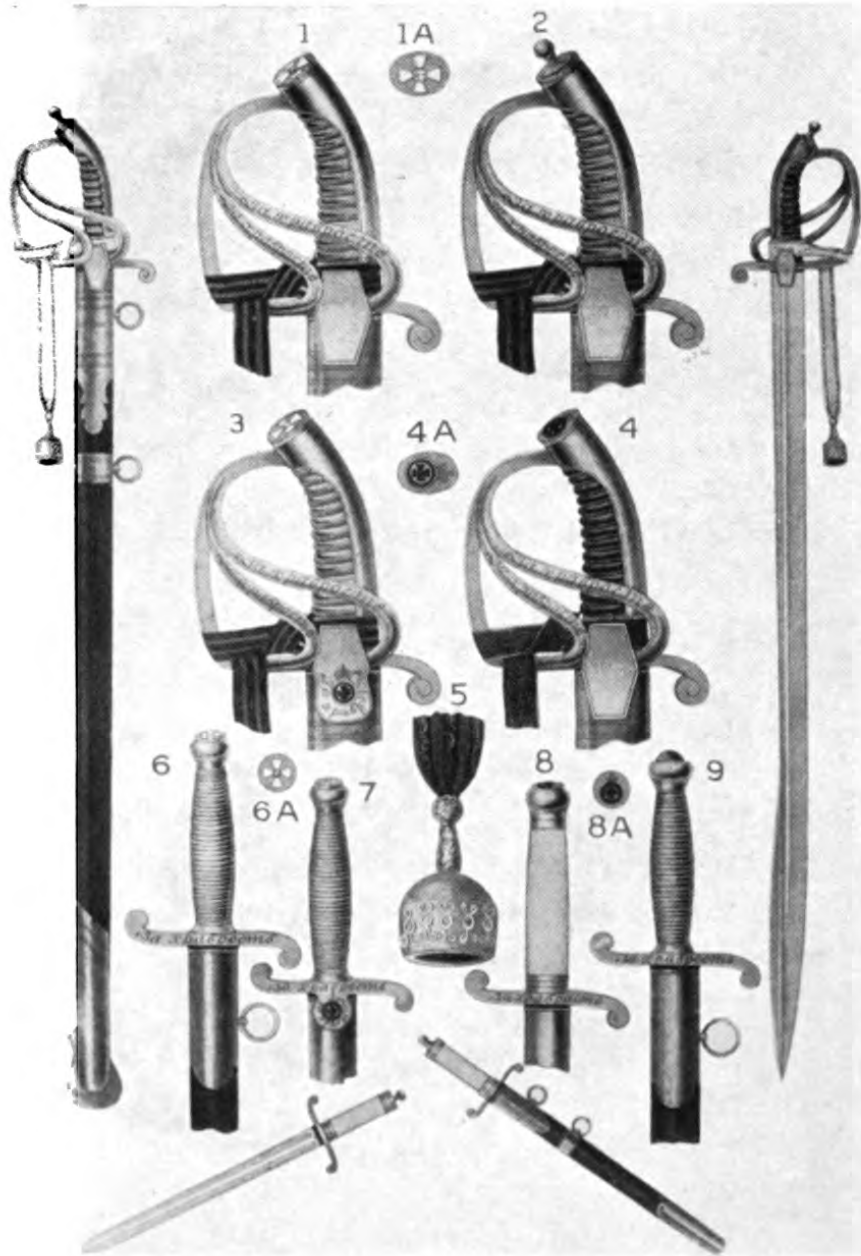
The insignia of this order were never decorated with diamonds.

On the insignia awarded to non-Christians the image of the saint and his monogram are replaced by the imperial eagle. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Mahommedan Caucasian knights of the order objected strenuously to this substitution. They said "We are warriors, let us have the picture of a brave warrior on our decoration instead of a black bird." However, this request was not granted because of the religious feeling of the Russians.

Connected with the Order of Saint George was a decoration known as "The Golden Sword of Saint George." Under this classification were included sabres, yataghans, swords, and naval dirks. These swords were inscribed "FOR VALOR" and were

EXPLANATION OF PICTURES ON PLATE OF THE
SAINT GEORGE AND SAINT ANNA WEAPONS.

- 1—Saint George's sword with miniature badge, sword knot, and double inscription "for bravery."
 - 1a—Miniature Saint George's cross used on sword hilt.
 - 2—Saint George's sword without the miniature badge but with the sword knot and inscription "for bravery."
 - 3—Combined Saint George's and Saint Anna's sword; with miniature Saint George badge, Saint George sword knot, double inscription "for bravery," Saint Anna miniature sword badge of fourth class and inscription "for bravery."
 - 4—Saint Anna's sword with miniature Saint Anna badge of fourth class, Saint Anna sword knot, and double inscription "for bravery."
 - 4a—Badge of the fourth class of the Order of Saint Anna. This is in the same size as a miniature badge.
 - 5—Sword knot of Saint George. The Saint Anna sword knot is the same shape and size but is composed of the Saint Anna colors (see figure number 4).
 - 6—Saint George's naval dirk with miniature badge and inscription "for bravery."
 - 6a—Miniature Saint George badge used on dirk.
 - 7—Combined Saint George and Saint Anna naval dirk; with badge of Saint George, inscription "for bravery," Saint Anna fourth class badge and inscription "for bravery."
 - 8—Saint Anna naval dirk with fourth class badge of the Order of Saint Anna and the inscription "for bravery."
 - 8a—Badge of the fourth class of Saint Anna, as used on naval dirk.
 - 9—Naval dirk "for bravery" and so inscribed.
- NOTE—Figure 2 does not bear the Saint George badge but is a variation of the Saint George's sword. Figure 9 carries either the Saint George or Saint Anna dirk knot. The dirk knots are the same as the sword knots but smaller.



Weapons showing the Orders of Saint George and Saint Anna

sometimes awarded "with diamonds." The bestowal of golden swords was originated by the Empress Catherine the Great and at that time had no connection with the Order of Saint George. It was not until the reign of Alexander I that the golden swords were included in the Russian orders. By an imperial ukase of the 28th of September, 1807, it was ordered that all officers awarded the Golden Sword were to be included in the registry of Russian orders. An imperial ukase of March 12th, 1844, ordered that all Golden Swords, except those ornamented with diamonds, be issued by the *Capital* of the Russian Orders, and not, as formerly, by His Imperial Majesty's private office. Golden Swords decorated with diamonds were still to be given by His Imperial Majesty's private office.

Golden Swords "with diamonds" were awarded to officers of the rank of Major-General and higher. With each sword so given was an imperial rescript signed by the monarch. Golden Swords "without diamonds" were awarded to staff and subaltern officers upon the recommendation of His Imperial Majesty, by the *Capital* of the Russian Orders.

The Golden Swords "with diamonds" were weapons having the hilt set with diamonds. No sword-knot was worn with these weapons.

The Golden Swords "without diamonds" were known as the "Georgevsky Oroogiem" (The Saint George Sword). They were inscribed with the words "For Valor" and had inlaid in them a small

Saint George's cross. This cross was mounted on the hilt in various positions depending on the type of weapon. With this type of Golden Sword was worn a sword-knot made of the same ribbon as that attached to the Order of Saint George.

The Golden Sword "with diamonds" was given as a personal token of the esteem of His Imperial Majesty. The Golden Sword "without diamonds" was awarded for deeds of valor for which the Order of Saint George might not be given.

In 1912, the Golden Sword became the Saint George's Sword and was issued according to the rules of the Order of Saint George.

On February 13th, 1807, the Emperor Alexander I created the "Insignia of Distinction of the Order of Saint George." This decoration was to be given to enlisted men for bravery on the field of battle.

According to the statutes of 1807, the pay of all enlisted men decorated with the Insignia of Distinction was to be raised with each class of the decoration. These increases were to be retained as a pension after the soldier had completed his military service.

In 1833, new statutes were issued detailing all the rights and privileges appertaining to the Insignia of Distinction. These same statutes detailed the deeds of valor for which the insignia might be given.

In 1856, the Insignia of Distinction was divided into four classes. These remained unchanged until the revolution of 1917.

The FIRST CLASS BADGE is a gold cross without enamel, the same in design as the cross of the Order of Saint George except that on the reverse is engraved the serial number of the cross and the class number. This cross is suspended from the Saint George's ribbon with a bow-knot.

The SECOND CLASS BADGE is a gold cross of the same design but with the second class mark on the reverse. There is no bow-knot on the ribbon.

The THIRD CLASS BADGE is a silver cross of the same design as the gold cross but with the mark of the third class on the reverse. This is suspended from a ribbon with a bow-knot.

The FOURTH CLASS BADGE is the same as for the third class but has the mark of the fourth class on the reverse. This is hung from a ribbon without the bow-knot.

All of these badges are the same size. Those in the author's collection measure 35 mm.

In volume three of "Istoria Kavelargvardoff" (History of the Chevalier Garde Regiment), on page 132, is a photograph of a badge of the "Insignia of Distinction." This is the same on the obverse as the crosses already described. The reverse, however, is different. It shows on the top arm the crowned monogram of the Emperor Alexander I, while the left arm has the Russian letter "N" and the right arm the number of the cross. There is no class number.

In 1912, a new decoration known as the Saint



Insignia of Distinction Order of Saint George
Third Class

Reverse

St. George's Medal

George's Medal was issued. This decoration was divided into four classes. There are two gold medals, that of the first class suspended from the Saint George's ribbon with the bow-knot, and that of the second class suspended from the ribbon without the bow-knot. There are also two silver medals. That of the third class is suspended from the ribbon with the bow-knot and that of the fourth class suspended from the ribbon without the bow-knot.

There are apparently two types of the Saint George's Medal. The author has two silver medals each having on the obverse the head of the Emperor Nicholas II with the inscription of his titles. The reverse on one of these medals has a laurel branch on the left and the inscription in Russian "For Bravery" at the center. The reverse of the other type has the following:

"For
Bravery"
(the number)
(Class mark)

The size of all the medals is the same, 28 mm., although the author has one un-numbered silver medal which measures 25 mm.

The Saint George's Medals were awarded for deeds of valor not meriting the Insignia of Distinction. The medals were awarded only to enlisted men.

Banners and trumpets decorated with the colors of the Order of Saint George were also awarded.

These were awarded to regiments which distinguished themselves in action. The first Georgevsky banners were awarded to the Tavrovsky, Moskow, Smolensk and Archangel Guard Regiments for distinction in the campaign of 1799. The first Georgevsky trumpets were given to the Moscow Grenadiers and the Starodoobsky Dragoons for the same campaign.

An imperial ukase of 1774 ordered that the Third Cuirassier Regiment be changed to the Cuirassier Regiment of the Order of Saint George the Martyr. Prince Potemkin, the vice-president of the Military College, was instructed to select the Knights of the order who were to be appointed as officers of the regiment. In modern times this regiment was known as the "13th Ordensky Regiment."

THE ORDER OF SAINT VLADIMIR

The Order of Saint Vladimir was instituted on September 22nd, 1782, the day of the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the reign of the Empress Catherine the Great. The order was created in honor of the canonized Prince Vladimir¹⁷ who introduced Christianity into Russia. The statutes of the order, issued on the same day, divided the order into four classes and specified that the insignia was to be worn with all uniforms.

The original statutes as issued by the Empress Catherine read in part as follows:—

“Because of the fact that many of Our subjects have not had the opportunity of making known their diligence and irreproachable service, We deem it right and just to award the Order of Saint Vladimir to all persons who have served continuously in Our service for 35 years, counting from the day when they were first raised to the classified position.”¹⁸

The Council of the order, created at the time of the foundation of the order, was established in a house donated for that purpose in Sophia, near Tzarskoe Selo.

By an imperial ukase of November 26th, 1789. the order, when conferred for valor, was awarded with a bow-knot attached to the ribbon.

In the regulations of the Russian orders, as issued by the Emperor Paul I in 1797, no mention of the Order of Saint Vladimir was made, nor did this Emperor confer the order during his reign. However, upon the accession of Alexander I, the order was re-instated "in all its former glory."

In 1845, the Emperor Nicholas I issued new statutes which defined the procedure of recommendation, the rights and privileges attached to the order, and the relative rank of seniority of the Order of Saint Vladimir and the Order of Saint Anna.¹⁹ According to these statutes, all persons decorated with the Order of Saint Vladimir with the exception of those belonging to the "corporation of merchants," acquired the right of hereditary nobility. These merchants received only the right of hereditary honorary citizenship. The statutes also specified that all recommendations for the order, whether for long service or for any deed described in the statutes, were to be investigated and approved by the Council of the Order of Saint Vladimir. All recommendations for the order for exploits of unusual significance not mentioned in the statutes, were to be submitted to the emperor for his personal approval.

The order with the inscription "35 years" was awarded to all persons who had occupied classified civilian positions for not less than thirty-five years. With the inscription "25 years" and the addition of a bow-knot to the ribbon, the order was awarded to officers of the army who had served actively for

not less than 25 years. The insignia was awarded with the inscription of the number of deep sea voyages and a bow-knot added to the ribbon to all naval officers who had made either eighteen or twenty deep sea voyages. To all chaplains who served with the army for not less than thirty-five years, the order was awarded with the inscription "35 years." Chaplains who had served with the Army for twenty-five years and had participated in at least one battle received the order inscribed "25 years" and the added bow-knot. All deacons who served with the army for thirty-five years were awarded the Order of Saint Anna. However, if they had already received this order during their term of service, they were awarded the Order of Saint Vladimir with the inscription "35 years" upon completion of that length of service.

At court functions, knights of the first and second classes of the order were ranked with officials of the fourth rank of precedence; knights of the third and fourth classes were ranked with officials of the sixth rank.

Upon admission to the order, the knights paid a fee which varied according to the class of the order received. Knights of the first class paid four hundred fifty roubles. Those of the second class paid two hundred twenty-five roubles. Knights of the third class paid forty-five roubles, and those admitted to the fourth class forty roubles. No fees were exacted from those who received the order



Badge of the Order of Saint Vladimir
(with swords)

for twenty-five or thirty-five years of service, nor from those who had made a certain number of campaigns, nor from foreigners. If awarded the order "with swords" after having received the order "without swords," an additional one-half of the original fee was paid.

When the order was awarded for deeds performed in war, two crossed swords were added to the insignia. These were crossed in opposite angles of the cross and star. A bow-knot was also added to the ribbon of the fourth class cross.

The Order of Saint Vladimir is divided into four classes. The insignia of the first class are a badge, a sash, and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross *paltée*. The obverse is red-enamelled with a band of gold outlining the entire cross. Just inside the gold band of the arms is a very narrow black-enamelled band. The center is a round medallion, enamelled black, on which is a red and ermine mantle, crowned, with the Russian monogram of the Saint (Russian Letters "C.B"). The reverse is the same as the obverse except that the medallion bears the date in Russian, "22 September 1782." In the collection of the American Numismatic Society there is a first class badge which measures 51 mm.

The SASH is a *moiré* silk ribbon consisting of three equal stripes of black, red and black.

The STAR is of eight groups of rays. The diagonal rays are of gold while the vertical and horizontal ones



Star of the Order of Saint Vladimir
(with swords)

are of silver. In the center of the star is a black-enamelled circular medallion bearing a gold cross *pattée* with the letters "C.P.K.B." in the angles, which stand for "The Holy Apostle Prince Vladimir." Around this black medallion, in gold on a red-enamelled band are the words "Usefulness, Honor, and Duty" in Russian. In the collection of the author is a star of this order which measures 90 mm.

The sash is worn over the right shoulder to the left side, and from it is suspended the badge. The star is won on the left breast.

The insignia of the second class are a badge worn at the neck and a star worn on the left breast. The BADGE is exactly the same as for the first class but smaller. The author has a badge of the second class which measures 49 mm. In the collection of the American Numismatic Society is a badge measuring 45 mm. The STAR is exactly the same in design and size as for the first class.

The third class insignia is a BADGE worn around the neck. This badge is exactly the same in size and design as for the second class.

The fourth class decoration is a BADGE worn on the left breast immediately after the fourth class badge of the Order of Saint George. This badge is the same in design as the badges of the higher classes, but is smaller in size. The author has a badge of this class which measures 35 mm. Major-General Theodore Alexanderovitch Lodijensky, formerly of the imperial Russian army, possesses two badges of

this class. His own, won in the late war, measures 40 mm., while the other, awarded to his grandfather in 1814 in the campaign against Napoleon, measures 33 mm.

The badges awarded for years of service or for a certain number of campaigns or voyages, have the number of years (or campaigns or voyages) on the left horizontal arm, and the Russian word "years" (or "campaigns" or "voyages") on the right horizontal arm. This inscription is in gold enamel.

On the insignia as awarded to non-Christians, the cross and initials of the saint are replaced with the imperial Russian eagle. The holiday of the order was the 22nd of September of each year. The insignia of the order were never decorated with diamonds.

THE ORDER OF SAINT ANNA

Karl Frederick, Sovereign Duke of Schleswig-Holstein,²⁰ founded the Order of Saint Anna in 1735, in memory of his wife Anna Petrovna, the daughter of Peter the Great.²¹ When Peter III, grandson of Peter the Great and at that time Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, came to Russia in 1742, the Order of Saint Anna began to be conferred by the Russian emperors.

On April 15th, 1797, the Emperor Paul I established the Order of Saint Anna as a Russian order. The ukase adopting the order as one of the Imperial orders reads in part as follows:—"When, to Peter III and to his future descendents, were given the rights to the Imperial Throne of All the Russias, from that time the above mentioned Order of Saint Anna was given the prerogatives of all the Russian Orders." At that time the order was divided into three classes. The insignia of the first class were a badge, a sash and a star. The second class cross was worn at the neck, and the third class badge was a cross mounted on the sword.

In 1815, Alexander I added a fourth class to the order, with the following changes. The third class badge was made a cross worn on the left breast, and the fourth class was a cross mounted on the sword. By the ukase of July 6th, 1828, the third class cross was suspended from a ribbon with a bow when the

order was awarded for military deeds. On April 14th, 1829, and July 22nd, 1845, new statutes were published.

According to the statute of 1829, an inscription on the hilt of the sword, "For Valor," and a sword-knot of the color of the ribbon of the order, were added to the fourth class. It was also ordered that persons awarded the Saint Anna's sword-knot continue to wear it even after being given higher classes of the Order of Saint Anna. The same statute ordered the formation of the Duma (or Council) of the Order, which was to investigate all recommendations made by the Capital of the Russian Orders and to submit the approved recommendations for the personal sanction of His Majesty.

The statute of 1845 included detailed instructions as to the routine of the bestowal of the order, and also the rights and privileges of the knights of the order.

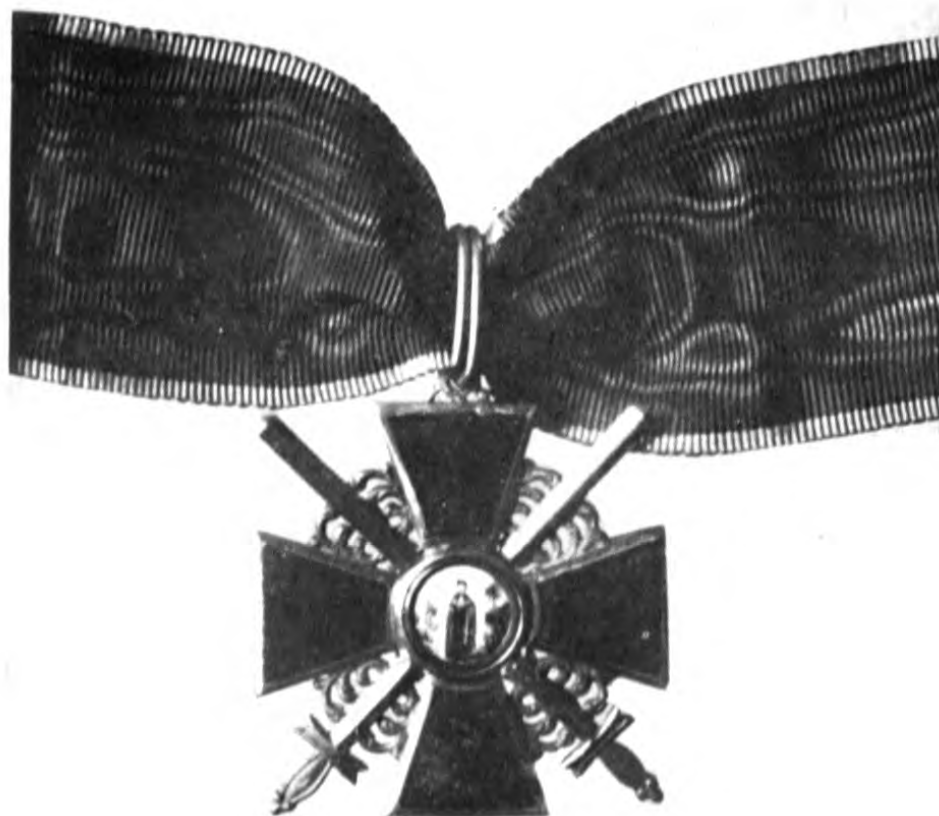
Up to 1845, all classes of the Order of Saint Anna carried with them the right to hereditary nobility. By the statute of 1845, the privileges attached to the award of this order were considerably curtailed. This was done because many minor government officials had obtained easy access to the ranks of the hereditary nobility through the award of the lower classes of the order. It is difficult for an American thoroughly to understand the feeling towards the rank of hereditary nobility in Russia during the monarchy. To be a nobleman in Russia

was the height of personal advancement. Nobility carried with it such exclusive and powerful advantages and prerogatives that every person who could possibly do so strove to attain nobility for himself and his heirs. Failing this, personal nobility (that is nobility which did not descend to the heirs of a man) was the next best reward. The statute of 1845 read in part as follows:—"All persons awarded the Order of Saint Anna of the first class are to be elevated to the rank of hereditary nobility provided that these persons had not formerly had the right of hereditary nobility, either through inheritance or by a special decree. The award of the order of the second, third and fourth classes carry with it the right of personal nobility, provided that the person awarded the decoration has not had this right before."

The supplementary articles, ratified by His Majesty on April 1st, 1847, defined the procedure of recommendations to the order of those persons who had back of them twelve years of blameless service.

The insignia of the four classes of the Order of Saint Anna are as follows. The first class insignia consist of a badge, a sash and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross *pattée*, red-enamelled. The edges of the cross are outlined in gold. In the angles between the arms of the cross are gold open-work scrolls. The center of the obverse contains the representation of Saint Anna on a white-en-

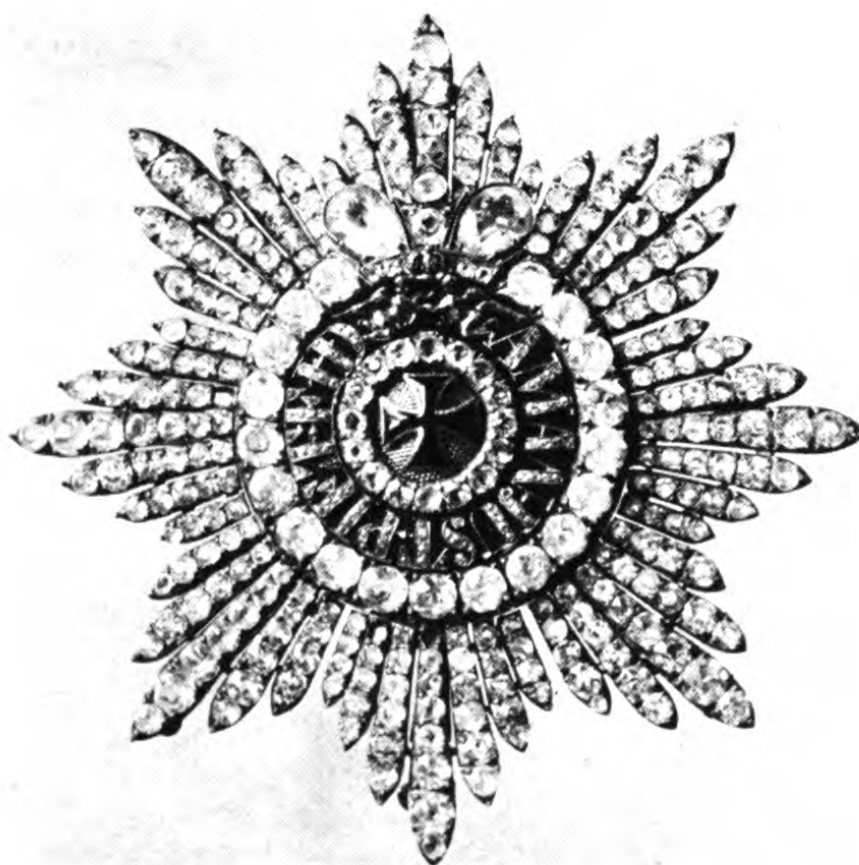


Badge of the Order of Saint Anna
(with swords)

amelled field with mountains in colored enamel in the background. This center medallion is surrounded by a gold rim. In the center of the reverse, on a white-enamelled field, is a blue-enamelled monogram consisting of the first letter of each word of the motto. When Karl Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein founded the order he selected for its motto "AMANTIBUS, JUSTITIAM, PIETATEM, FIDEM,"—"To those who love Justice, Piety and Fidelity." This motto was suggested by the initials of the title and name of his wife, "Anna Imperatoris Petri Filia" ("Anna Daughter of Emperor Peter"). The enamelled monogram on the reverse is crowned with a blue-enamelled imperial crown. The author has two examples of this badge. The older one measures 58 mm. and the more modern 50 mm.

The SASH is a red *moiré* ribbon 100 mm. wide and having close to each edge a narrow yellow stripe 3 mm. wide. This sash is worn across the left shoulder to the right side and the cross is suspended from it.

The STAR is silver and has in the center a red-enamelled cross. Around the cross, on a red-enamelled band, is the abbreviated motto in silver Roman letters:—"AMAN. JUST. PIET. FID." and two cherubim supporting an imperial crown. The latter is placed above the cross and between the second and third words. The author has two examples of the star of this order. The older one



Jewelled Star of the Order of Saint Anna

measures 83 mm. and the modern star 92 mm. In the Museum of the American Numismatic Society there are two stars, one military and one civil. They both measure 95 mm.

The badge of the second class is a cross the same as for the first class but smaller. It is worn at the neck suspended from a narrower ribbon which measures 45 mm. The author has a specimen of the military and civil branches in this class. They each measure 44 mm. The American Numismatic Society has a badge of this class which measures 40 mm. The author also has two badges of this class made of bronze instead of gold. Major-General Theodore Alexanderovitch Lodijensky has a badge of his own in the second class of this order which measures 50 mm.

The badge of the third class is similar to that of the second but is still smaller. It is worn on the left breast suspended from a ribbon 28 mm. wide. The specimens of this class in the author's collection measure 36 mm. The American Numismatic Society has a badge in this class which measures 35 mm. while Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham has one measuring 40 mm. Major-General Theodore Lodijensky has a badge of the third class of the order as awarded to his grandfather in 1811. This badge measures 30 mm.

The badge of the fourth class is of a type peculiar to Russia. It consists of a red-enamelled cross on a gold field enclosed by a red-enamelled band and

surmounted by a gold imperial crown. This badge is fitted to a military dress sword, a saber, a curved cavalry saber, a naval sword, or a naval dirk. It is attached to the top of the hilt. The American Numismatic Society has a specimen of this badge measuring 29 mm. x 20 mm. Sculfort lists one measuring 29 mm. in diameter. With this badge is a sword-knot made of the ribbon of Saint Anna and silver tassels. The hilt of the sword is also inscribed in Russian "FOR BRAVERY."

For deeds of military merit in the presence of the enemy, crossed swords were added to the cross and the star. These swords are placed between the arms of the cross—on the star the place of crossing is under the medallion. Military knights of the third class with the cross "With Swords" suspended the cross from a ribbon and bow.

From the reign of Paul I up to 1828, the order of Saint Anna "with diamonds" was bestowed on both Russians and foreigners. Only the first and second classes were ornamented with diamonds.

By the imperial order of the 26th of December, 1828, the diamond ornaments were replaced by an enamelled imperial crown above the cross. However, according to the statutes of 1829 and 1848, the order could be awarded with or without the crown, but to foreigners the order was still awarded "with diamonds." By an imperial ukase of 1874, the conferring of the order "with the crown" was discontinued. The order either "with diamonds"

or "with the crown" was considered of a higher degree than the order without these ornaments. The American Numismatic Society has a star of the Order of Saint Anna which is set with jewels. It measures 72 mm. In the collection of Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham there is a fine old specimen of a first class badge beautifully jewelled. This badge measures 70 mm. The author has a second class civil badge "with the crown" which measures 73 mm. x 45 mm. The American Numismatic Society has a badge of this same class "with the crown," black-enamelled. It measures 51 mm.

The cross and star as awarded to non-Christians had the imperial eagle, enamelled in natural colors, in place of the cross and the representation of the saint.

When awarded the Order of Saint Anna each knight was obliged to pay a fee which varied with the different classes. The first class knights paid one hundred fifty roubles; those of the second class thirty-five roubles; the third class twenty roubles; and those of the fourth class ten roubles. When the order "with swords" was given after the order "without swords" had been received an additional fee of half the original was charged. The order "with diamonds" or "with the crown" carried no fee. In 1904 an imperial ukase stated that the order "with swords" would carry no fee from that date.



Black enamelled badge with crown
Order of Saint Anna



THE ORDER OF SAINT STANISLAV

The Order of Saint Stanislav was created on May 7th 1765, by Stanislav August Poniatovsky,²² King of Poland, in honor and in memory of his patron saint, Saint Stanislav.²³ Burke states that the number of knights was limited to one hundred, exclusive of foreigners, and describes the insignia as follows:—

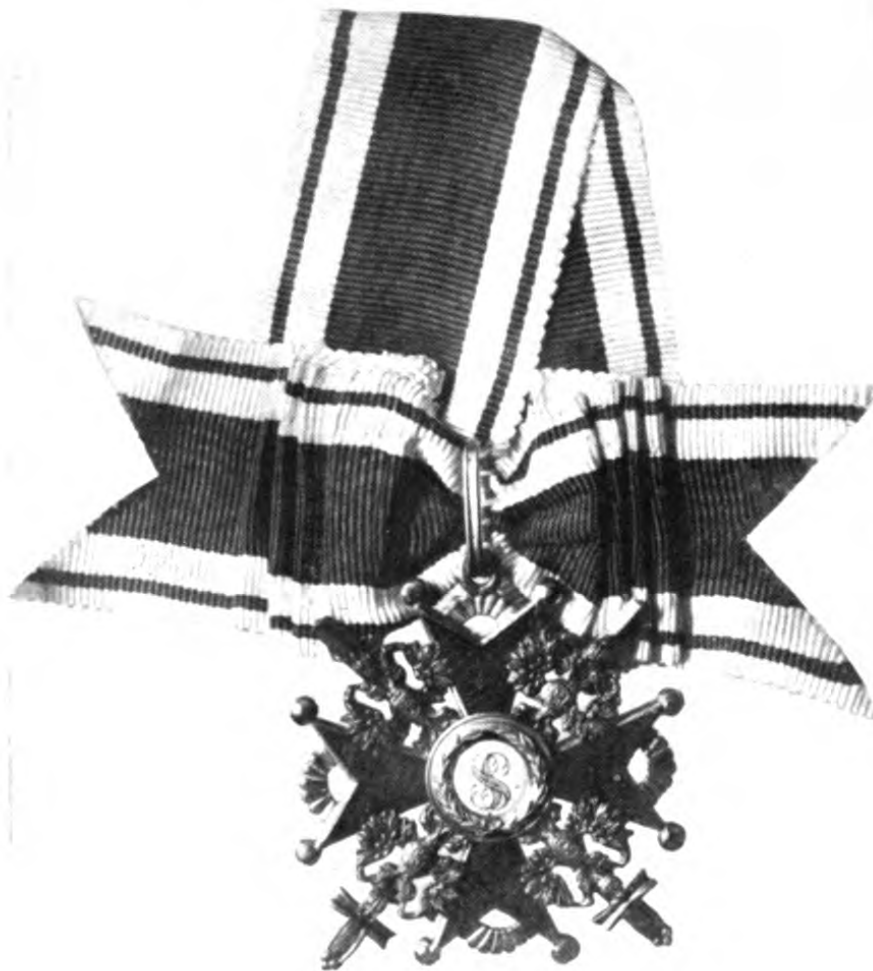
“The BADGE was a red-enamelled cross, attached to a poppy-red ribbon with white borders, worn across the right shoulder towards the left hip: the middle of the cross rested upon the Polish white eagle, and on the obverse appeared the representation of the patron saint of the order in his episcopalian robes, with the initials ‘S. S.’ (Saint Stanislav) at the side, while the reverse showed the initials of the king. The STAR which the knights wore on the left side of the breast was of silver, and exhibited in the middle the initials of the king in red, twisted around a lancet, and within a red ring with golden edges, the legend: ‘Praemiando incitat’ (Encouraged by reward).”

Upon the annexation of the Kingdom of Poland, the Emperor Alexander I conferred this order on persons of Polish birth. By the statute of December 1st, 1815, the order was divided into four classes. A new statute of September 2nd, 1829, defined the rights and privileges attached to the order.

After the Polish Rebellion, the Emperor Nicholas I issued new statutes for this order. These statutes, published on the 17th of November, 1831, provided that the Order of Saint Stanislav was henceforth to be included with the imperial Russian orders. This same statute included radical changes in the insignia of the order.

The statute of 1839, issued by the Emperor Nicholas I, abolished the fourth class of the order and instructed that all recommendations for admission were to be investigated by the council of the order, which consisted of twelve knights of each class. This council was abolished in 1855.

In 1844, the Minister of Justice submitted to the Committee of Ministers the list of candidates for the Order of Saint Stanislav, and also the report of the Senate regarding the persons about to be decorated. Upon an investigation of this report, the committee noted that the statutes of the order created a very easy means of access to the rights of hereditary nobility. Even persons occupying insignificant government positions were thereby able to achieve this dignity. The committee then petitioned the Emperor Nicholas I to revise the statutes, emphasizing the fact that the rights and privileges attached to the rank of an hereditary nobleman were of such value and importance that they should be awarded for unusual services only. The emperor therefore appointed a special committee to review the statutes of the order. This



Badge of the Order of Saint Stanislav
Third class with swords and bow-knot

committee recommended that the statutes of the Orders of Saint Stanislav, Saint Vladimir and Saint Anna be compared and revised and that the rank of seniority among these orders be definitely established. New statutes of these three orders were thereupon issued on July 22nd, 1845.

Up to 1845, all classes of the Orders of Saint Stanislav, Saint Anna and Saint Vladimir had carried with them the right of hereditary nobility. The statutes of 1845 limited this right to all classes of the Order of Saint Vladimir, to the first class of the Order of Saint Anna and to the first class of the Order of Saint Stanislav. To the second, third and fourth classes of the Order of Saint Anna was given the right of personal nobility. The second and third classes of the Order of Saint Stanislav were abolished.

The award of the second and third classes of the Order of Saint Stanislav was revived on July 28th, 1855.

From 1855 until 1917, the Order of Saint Stanislav had three classes. The insignia of the first class consist of a badge, a sash, and a star, as follows.

The BADGE is a gold, ball-tipped Maltese cross. The obverse is enamelled red, outlined by a narrow edging of gold. Between each arm of the cross is a gold imperial Russian eagle. The points of each arm of the cross are connected by a gold arc somewhat resembling the edge of a rosette. In the center of the obverse is a circular white medallion sur-

rounded by a green-enamelled laurel wreath. In the center of this medallion are the red-enamelled entwined initials "S. S." The reverse of the cross is entirely gold save for the white medallion which is the same as on the obverse. The author has in his collection an example of this badge measuring 60 mm. That in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society measures 62 mm.

The SASH is a red watered silk ribbon 105 mm. in width having two narrow white border stripes. This sash is worn over the right shoulder to the left side and from it is suspended the badge.

The STAR is silver, consisting of eight groups of rays. In the center is a white medallion bearing in its center the red-enamelled entwined letters "S. S." which are surrounded by a narrow gold band. This in turn is surrounded by the motto of the order "PRAEMIANDO INCITAT" in gold letters, with a gold leaf before the first word of the motto. Around the white medallion is a green-enamelled gold-edged band bearing four gold laurel wreaths. The specimen of this star in the collection of the author measures 93 mm. The American Numismatic Society has an example of this star measuring only 80 mm.

The BADGE of the second class is the same as for the first class but is somewhat smaller and is hung around the neck from a ribbon only 40 mm. wide. The author has an example of this badge which measures 44 mm., and one 47 mm. Mr.

Harrold E. Gillingham has an example of this cross measuring 50 mm. Major-General Theodore Alexanderovitch Lodijensky has a specimen of the second class cross, which was awarded to his grandfather in 1814. This badge measures 48 mm. and has the wings of the eagles, between the arms, turned down.

Foreigners were sometimes awarded a STAR of the second class of this order. The star is the same as for the first class. It could not be awarded to a Russian subject. The star of this class in the author's collection measures 92 mm.

The third class BADGE is the same as that of the first and second classes but is smaller and is worn on the left breast suspended from a ribbon 32 mm. wide. For military service against the enemy, when the badge is awarded "with swords," a bow-knot is added to the ribbon of this class. The author has a badge of this class measuring 40 mm. In the collection of Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham is a cross of this class which measures 20 mm.

The author has a badge of the second class and one of the third class with enamel on both the obverse and the reverse. This is very unusual as they are of Russian make and marked with the Russian gold markings.

Two swords, crossed in the center of the badge and the star, are added for military deeds in the presence of the enemy.

Non-Christians awarded this order, have the



Star of the Order of Saint Stanislav

imperial Russian eagle on the insignia in place of the red-enamelled entwined letters "S. S."

From 1831 to 1839, the second class of the Order of Saint Stanislav was awarded with a star. In 1839, the second class was sub-divided into two grades, namely, a cross with a crown added, and a cross without a crown. However, to foreigners the order of the second class was still awarded with the star, by special rescript. By an imperial ukase of February 17th, 1874, the award of the order with the imperial crown was terminated.

The special holiday of the Order of Saint Stanislav was the 25th of April.

Each person awarded the order of Saint Stanislav, excepting foreigners not in the Russian service, was charged a fee which varied according to the class. Those of the first class paid a fee of one hundred and twenty roubles; those of the second class thirty roubles; and knights of the third class fifteen roubles. When the decoration "With Swords" was given after the civil decoration had been received, the recipient contributed an additional fee of one-half the original fee. All such fees were used to form a pension fund for impoverished knights and for the widows of deceased knights.

THE ORDER OF THE RED CROSS

The Order of the Red Cross was established by the Emperor Alexander the Second, following the Turkish War of 1877-1878. The Order was instituted on February 19th, 1878, and the statutes were published the same day. The order was established to reward women who had devoted themselves to nursing wounded and sick soldiers. The order was awarded by Her Imperial Majesty upon the approval of the emperor and was conferred by special rescript to the Chancellor of the Russian Orders. The Chancellor forwarded the rescript to the Capital of the Russian Orders, which issued the decoration. No fee was paid by the recipient of the order. Those receiving the order were authorized to add the representation of the badge to their coat-of-arms. The order is divided into two classes.

According to the statutes of the order the insignia of the first class is a BADGE. This takes the form of a red-enamelled Geneva cross within a gold ring. On this ring is the inscription in Russian letters, "For Nursing Wounded and Sick Soldiers." This badge is suspended from a red watered-silk ribbon in the form of a knot. It is worn on the left breast.

The insignia of the second class is a BADGE exactly the same as for the first class but with a silver ring instead of a gold one. This badge is also worn on the left breast suspended from a red silk ribbon

in the form of a knot. The size of this badge is 32 mm.

It was customary to award the second class of the order before conferring the first class. However, this rule was not always followed.

If the insignia was worn with stars of orders or with the Insignia for the Liberation of the Serfs, the badges of the Red Cross Order were worn below these.



Badge of the Order of the Red Cross

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN RUSSIA

The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem is the oldest Catholic Order. It was founded in 1048, in Jerusalem, in honor of Saint John the Baptist, and had as its primary purpose the assistance of pilgrims to the Holy Land.

In 1099, after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the order became a military and religious brotherhood. It appropriated the title of "Sovereign," signifying its absolute freedom from allegiance to any monarch. Members of the order were drawn from the clergy and nobility of all the countries of Western Europe. The first insignia of the order was a white silk cross sewn to the left side of the cloak and to the hat.

The knights of the order constantly fought the Mohammedans and gained an enviable military reputation. In 1187, Jerusalem was recaptured by the Mohammedans and the "Sovereign Order" was forced to move, first to the Island of Cyprus and later to the Island of Rhodes. Here, in 1522, it fought a series of glorious but losing fights against the Turks and was forced out of the island.

The German Emperor Carl V, then presented the Island of Malta to the order. On this island the order established its headquarters and became known as "The Order of Malta."

The knights of the order, with the assistance of the papacy, established throughout Europe many preceptories. In the XVI century the order became instrumental in furthering the Catholic faith and the plans of the papacy. Many Jesuits joined the order. At this time, the knights began to wear black Jesuit cloaks with a white silk cross on the left side.

In Russia the Order of Malta became very influential at the end of the XVIII century. In January, 1797, the Emperor Paul I, concluded an agreement with the Grand Master of the Order of Malta. The proclamation of this agreement reads in part as follows:

“We, by the Grace of God, Paul I, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, etc. etc.

“His Imperial Majesty Paul I, knowing the importance and benefits derived from the institution of the Maltese Order in Russia, and wishing to give those of His subjects who might join this Order every right to do so, decided to call a convention which would discuss such matters as would be of benefit to both the Order of Malta and to the Russian Empire.”

For this purpose the following representatives were elected. Acting for His Imperial Majesty were Count Alexander Bezbakodko, His Majesty's Privy Counsellor, Member of the Imperial Council, Past Master General the President of the Orders of Saint Andrew and Saint Alexander-Nevsky, and Knight of the First Class of the Order of Saint

Vladimir; and Prince Alexander Karakine, His Majesty's Vice-Chancellor, Member of the Imperial Council, Active Chamberlain, and Knight of the Orders of Saint Andrew, Saint Alexander-Nevsky, the First Class of the Order of Saint Anna. Acting for the Grand Master of the Order of Malta was Julius René Balii, Count Leettii, Grand Cross of the Order of Malta, Knight of the Third Class of the Order of Saint George, Knight of the Polish Orders of the White Eagle and Saint Stanislav, and Honorary Rear-Admiral of the Russian Fleet. These representatives agreed upon the following articles:—

“His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, following his imperial judgement and showing his benevolence towards the famous Order of Malta, recognizes it as rightful, ratifies and confirms most solemnly for Himself and His heirs, forever, the establishment of the above mentioned Order in His domains. Etc., etc., etc.”

At the same time, His Imperial Majesty granted to the order a certain yearly subsidy.

The Island of Malta was captured in 1798 by Napoleon Bonaparte. The knights of the order were very much dissatisfied with their Grand Master, Gompesch, because he did not resist the French with force of arms. They, therefore, forced him to resign and petitioned the Emperor Paul I, to become Grand Master of the Order. The emperor accepted the offer and proclaimed himself Grand Master of the Order of Malta. At the same time,

he bestowed upon himself the insignia of the order, the cloak, the crown, the sword, and the cross. The imperial manifesto of 1798, establishing the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Russia, reads in part as follows:—

“We, by the Grace of God, Paul I, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias and Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, etc.

“The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, from its very foundation, by its prudent and commendable efforts, has benefited not only the Christian religion in every state, but Christianity in general. We, always appreciating the true value of this Order, have already established the Grand Russian Priory.

“On this occasion, as the Grand Master of the Order, We, wishing to again make known Our respect and admiration for this noble Order, by Our Imperial prerogative create the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem for the benefit of Our nobility, which was ever the bulwark of Our Throne.”

This manifesto was issued on the 29th of November, 1798. In accordance with this ukase, a yearly subsidy of two hundred sixteen thousand roubles was granted to the order. Preceptories were organized for the knights and fifty thousand peasants were assigned to these preceptories. The headquarters of the order was transferred from the Island of Malta to Saint Petersburg and was established in a palace set aside for this purpose. A Catholic church was built in the palace, and dedicated to the memory

of Saint John the Baptist. This church is still in existence. The palace was later given to the "Corps des Pages," the highest military academy in Russia, by the Emperor Alexander I. The badge of the Order of Malta was given this academy as a school badge.

The imperial rescript to the Senate on the 15th of December, 1798, included in the title of the Russian monarch the title of "Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem."

Sometime later, the order was subdivided into two groups; a Roman Catholic group and a Russian-Orthodox group. Children were admitted to the order as well as adults. The admission fee for adults was twelve hundred roubles and for children twenty-four hundred roubles.

It was specified that every applicant to the order belong to a family enrolled among the nobility not less than one hundred fifty years. It was further ruled that this nobility must originally have come to the family through military exploits. Besides hereditary knights, the Emperor Paul I created Honorary Knights and Commanders. For this rank it was not necessary to be of noble descent. These honorary ranks were awarded for both military and civil services.

Besides state preceptories as established by the Convention of 1797, and the ukase of 1798, the institution of family preceptories was permitted by His Imperial Majesty. In order to obtain this permis-

sion, it was necessary for the preceptary to be of a certain size and to bring an income of not less than three thousand roubles per year. Ten per cent of this income went into the treasury of the order. These family preceptories were hereditary and with them went the hereditary right for the heir to wear the insignia and uniform of a commander of the order.

The official Russian account of this order gives but little regarding the insignia of the order while under the Emperor Paul I. It describes the commander's cross as a gold, white-enamelled Maltese cross. From portraits of the time, we can see that this cross was sometimes a plain Maltese cross and sometimes a crowned Maltese cross. It seems to have been worn around the neck suspended from either a black ribbon or a gold chain. On the left breast was worn a white-enamelled gold Maltese cross without any ornamentation. A picture of the famous Marshal Souvoroff shows him wearing a jewelled badge around the neck.

Enlisted men of the Russian army were awarded "donatys," or small copper Maltese crosses with three arms white-enamelled and the upper arm plain metal. These were awarded for twenty years service when the award of the medal of the Order of Saint Anna was not warranted.

The Emperor Paul I, also established a Maltese Insignia of Distinction to be awarded to ladies. This was divided into two classes. Ladies of the

first class wore the cross of the order attached to a black ribbon worn across the shoulder. Ladies of the second class wore the cross on the left side attached to a black ribbon bow-knot.

In 1803, the Emperor Alexander I, resigned the dignity of Grand Master of the Order. By a declaration of the cabinet of the emperor, the order in Russia was terminated in 1817, and the preceptories abolished.

After being transferred from place to place, the headquarters of the order was finally located in Rome, under the official protection of the Pope.

THE POLISH MILITARY ORDER
("VIRTUTI MILITARI")

The Polish Military Order, or the Order of "Virtuti Militari" as it is better known, was created in 1792, by King Stanislaus August Poniatovsky. It was inspired by the Austrian Order of Maria-Theresa, which was founded by that empress on the 12th of December, 1758. The Order of "Virtuti Militari" was awarded by King Stanislaus August to adherents of the so-called "Polish Patriotic Party," supporters of the constitution of May 3rd, 1791. The order was first conferred after the battle of Zielence, in Volhynia, where the Poles, led by Prince Joseph Poniatovsky, fought the Russians.

The first insignia of the order was an oval gold or silver medal. The obverse bore the crowned monogram of King Stanislaus August. The reverse had the inscription "Virtuti Militari." At the first investiture only twenty of the gold medals and forty of the silver medals were conferred.

The order was soon modified and divided into five classes. The insignia was also changed. The first three classes wore a cross of four arms. At the center of the obverse was a round medallion bordered by a laurel wreath. In this medallion was the Polish White Eagle. The arms of the obverse bore the inscription VIR-TUTI-MILI-TARI. The reverse bore a representation of the Knight of Lithuania, with

the date 1792, below. The arms of the reverse had the letters S. A. R. P. (Stanislaus Augustus Rex Poloniae). The badge of the fourth class was an oval gold medal. That of the fifth class was the oval silver medal.

In 1792, the Empress Catherine II forced King Stanislaus Augustus to leave the "Polish Patriotic Party" and join the "Confederation of Targovitz," which was formed by the empress on the 14th of May, 1792. This confederation consisted of Polish noblemen who were pro-Russian. On the 18th of July, 1792, the confederation decided to suppress the order and to prohibit the wearing of the insignia.

The Polish Diet, meeting at Grodno, re-instituted the order on November 23rd, 1793. However, no distribution of the re-instituted order took place until the 26th of December, 1807, after the constitution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon I. At this time the Grand Duke Frederick August²⁴ conferred the order.

In 1808, Alexander I of Russia, compelled the Grand Duke Frederick August to make a change in the insignia. The figure of the Knight of Lithuania was removed from the reverse and the words "Rex et Patria" substituted. The reason for this was that in 1793, at the second partitioning of Poland, Russia secured Lithuania. At this time certain changes were made in the insignia which lasted until the final suppression of the order by the Emperor Nicholas I.

In 1815 the Congress of Vienna made a final distribution of Polish territory. A Kingdom of Poland was to be formed under the domination and government of Russia. The Emperor of All the Russias was also to be King of Poland. As a result of this final division of Poland, the Order of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (as the Order "Virtuti Militari" was then known), was included in the Russian orders under the title of The Polish Military Order. The Emperor Alexander I was Grand Master of the order from 1815 to 1825, and the Emperor Nicholas I from 1825 to 1832.

In 1831, Poland rose in rebellion against Russia. After the defeat of the Polish armies, the Emperor Nicholas I awarded the order to all officers who took part in the suppression of the rebellion. The ukase to this effect was dated November 7th, 1831. Thus the order was turned to a use exactly opposite to that for which it had been founded. The Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army and all Corps Commanders were awarded the first class of the order. All other general officers were given the second class. The third class was conferred on all Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels. The fourth class was given to all Captains, and the fifth class to all other officers. The Capital of All the Russian Orders was ordered to make a sufficient number of decorations with the date 1831, instead of the date 1792.

On November 19th of the same year the Emperor

Nicholas I, ordered the fourth class of the order to be awarded to subaltern officers instead of to Captains as heretofore. The fifth class was to be awarded to soldiers.

As recorded in the archives of the Capital of the Russian Orders, there were distributed the following numbers of decorations of this order between the dates November 12th, 1831 and May 20th, 1835:— First class, 14; second class, 188; third class, 1105; fourth class, 5219; fifth class, 100,000.

By the imperial ukase of January 3rd, 1832, the insignia of the Order of *Virtuti Militari* (as the Order was then known) were to be worn below all other orders of Russia. The insignia, under the Russian authority, are for the first class, a badge, a sash and a star.

The BADGE is a gold cross of four arms with the sides of the arms shaped concavely. Each arm is double-pointed with gold balls tipping each point. The obverse is black-enamelled and outlined in gold. In the center of the cross is a gold circular medallion bearing the Polish White Eagle. This medallion is surrounded by a laurel wreath. The arms of the obverse bear the following inscription in gold letters: VIR-TUTI-MILI-TARI. The reverse is gold and bears in the center medallion the motto of the order, REX ET PATRIA with the date, 1831, below it. On the arms of the reverse are the letters S. A. R. P. (Stanislaus Augustus Rex Poloniae). The whole is surmounted by the Polish crown in gold.



Badge of the Polish Military Order
"Virtuti Militari" 1831

The SASH is a wide blue silk moiré ribbon having a band of black at each edge. This sash was worn over the right shoulder to the left side. The badge was suspended from it.

The STAR is silver. It has eight groups of rays. Superimposed on the star is the obverse of the badge without the crown. This star is worn on the left breast.

The insignia of the second class is a BADGE the same as for the first class but of a smaller size. This was worn around the neck from a narrower ribbon of the same design.

The BADGE of the third class is the same cross as for the second class but smaller. It was worn on the left breast suspended from a ribbon of the same design and size as for the second class.

The insignia of the fourth class is a BADGE the same as for the third class but without the black enamel on the obverse. This cross was worn on the left breast from a ribbon the same as for the preceding classes but narrower. Major-General Theodore Alexanderovitch Lodijensky has a badge in this class as awarded to his grandfather for the 1831 rebellion. It measures 31 mm.

The fifth class BADGE is the same as that of the fourth class except that it is made of silver instead of gold. It was worn on the left breast suspended from the same ribbon as for the fourth class.

It is of interest to note in connection with this order that on the first of August, 1919, the Diet of

the Polish Republic re-installed this order under the name "The Order of Virtuti Militari." The insignia of the different classes are as described except that the letters "S. A. R. P." on the reverse have been done away with, and the medallion on the reverse reads "HONOR Y OJCZYŻNA" (Honor and Country). Also, the crown which was formerly above the cross has been eliminated.

THE ORDER OF ST. NICOLAS THE MIRACLE-WORKER

The Order of St. Nicolas the Miracle-Worker was established by decree July 19th (Old Style Aug. 1st) 1929 by Order of H. I. M. Kyrille Vladimirovitch in memory of the late Emperor Nicholas II, who was in supreme command of the army and navy, and as a memorial of the World War, July 19, 1914 to March 1st, 1917.

It is awarded to every person who took part in this war whether in the army or navy.

The cross is four-armed, each arm having two points. The obverse is white-enamelled with a narrow gilt edging and a round medallion of white enamel bearing the gilt effigy of Saint Nicolas the Miracle-Worker. Between the arms of the cross is the Romanoff griffin with a circular shield and raised sword. For non-Christians the medallion is stamped with the crowned monogram of the Emperor Nicholas II. The personnel of the Medical Corps receive the badge with a red cross replacing the image of the saint.

The reverse gilt medallion bears the inscription in Russian, "The Great World War 1914-1917." The ribbon is white, yellow and black in stripes of equal width (the Romanoff colors). The cross measures 35 mm.

There is also a white metal miniature of this badge, meant to be worn in the buttonhole. It



Badge of the Order of St. Nicholas
the Miracle-Worker

measures 15 mm., is the same as the obverse of the full-size cross but without the enamel, and is backed by a circular rosette of the same ribbon.

The badge is worn at all times immediately after the St. George badge and before all other decorations. The cost of the decoration is borne by the one receiving the award.

The provisions of the statutes are as follows:—

I. Those eligible for this order must have taken an active part in H. I. M. Army or Navy and must have been mobilized prior to, and including, March 1st, 1917. Persons who were allies of Russia or who took part during the World War in the Russian Army or Navy are eligible. This decoration is conferred posthumously on those killed prior to March 1st, 1917.

II. Those who participated in battles against the enemy have crossed swords added to this cross.

III. The Order of St. Nicolas is hereditary with the oldest of a family who has the right to wear this order when on parade.

IV. The holiday is December 6th, the Saint's day of Nicholas II.

V. To the knights, with and without swords, and to their widows and children will be given special privileges and rights which a special commission will work out after the Restoration, through a commission which will be appointed by the highest order.

NOTES

¹ Golovine, Count Feodor Alexeevitch. This officer was the closest friend of Peter the Great. Through his indefatigability and because of the wisdom of his council, he became the leading Russian statesman and diplomat. He was chosen as one of three in the Great Embassy with which Peter travelled through Europe. Upon his return, Golovine was charged with the formation of the Russian fleet. In April, 1699, he was made Admiral and took command of the first Russian squadron in the Sea of Azof. On the 9th of September, 1689, he settled the frontier dispute between China and the Czardom of Moscow. In 1701 Golovine was made head of the School of Navigation at Moscow. He died in 1706.

² Mazeppa, Ivan Stefanovitch, was born about 1640. He came of a noble Russian family and was placed as a page in the court of John Casimir, King of Poland. The story of Mazeppa as related in the poem of the same name by Lord Byron is essentially true. Bound naked to the back of his horse, he was sent out into the open country. His horse made for home and Mazeppa was rescued. In shame he fled to the Ukraine where he joined the Zaparagian Cossacks. By means of lies, tricks and turn-coat tactics he rose in military rank until he was finally elected Hetman in 1687. He was held in the greatest esteem by Peter who used him in the Volynia Campaign of 1705-06. Peter loaded him with high honors and created him Prince of the Ukraine. Mazeppa, however, constantly intrigued against Peter as he feared the loss of his independence. At last he joined the army of Charles XII of Sweden, taking with him many of his Cossacks. With 80,000 of his Cossacks, Mazeppa took part in the battle of Poltava against Peter. The Czar stripped him of all his honors and ordered his name to be cursed in all the Russian churches.

After Poltava, Mazeppa escaped to Turkey, and died there in poverty in 1709.

³ Menshikov, Alexander Danilovitch, was born near Moscow in 1673. He came of a modest Russian family. His intelligence attracted the attention of General Lefort, one of Peter's advisors, who commended him to the czar. Menshikov accompanied Peter in his travels through Europe. In 1702, he took a distinguished part in the capture of the fortress of Notemburg. For this he was made commander of the fortress which was renamed Schlisselbourg. It was Menshikov who discovered Katherine Skavronsky, who later became the mistress of Peter, then his wife, and finally Empress of all the Russias. Menshikov took a leading part in the wars against Sweden and was made a field-marshal on the field of Poltava in 1709. His great avarice and his giving up the fortress of Stettin to Prussia, caused Peter to court-martial him and sentence him to death. Later, the Emperor pardoned him, upon the payment of a large fine. After Peter's death, Menshikov came into great favor with Catherine I. During the reign of Peter II, he practically ruled Russia. He had even gone so far as to arrange the marriage of his daughter with Peter II, when he suddenly lost favor and was banished to Siberia. He died there on the 12th of November, 1729.

⁴ Vasiliefsky Island is one of the islands in the River Neva on which part of Petrograd was built.

⁵ Saint Andrew was born in Bethlehem in Galilee. He was a follower of John the Baptist and later became an apostle of Christ. Tradition states that he was crucified on an X-shaped cross.

⁶ In 1711, the Turkish government was incited to war against Russia by Charles XII of Sweden, Desaleurs the French Ambassador, and the Khan of the Tartars. Peter welcomed this war and set out against the Turks with an army of 38,000 men. He was confident of an easy victory. Deserted by most of his allies and not waiting for the 30,000 men promised him by Augustus of Poland, Peter found

himself surrounded on the banks of the River Pruth by 200,000 Turks. His men fought bravely against overwhelming odds. This bravery caused the Turkish Grand Vizier to hesitate. Finally the strategy of Catherine triumphed and Peter with his army was allowed to return to Russia after making a rather humiliating treaty.

- ⁷ Alexander-Nevski was born at Vladimir. He was the son of Prince Yaroslav of Novgorod. Left with his brother Feodor when his father quitted Novgorod, he fought bravely but vainly against the Mongol hordes. His brother having died, Alexander was forced finally to submit to the Mongols in 1240 A. D. He then set out to defend the western borders against the Danes, the Swedes and the Teutonic Knights. In 1240, he was victorious over the Swedes on the River Neva, near the site on which St. Petersburg was built later. For this action he won the surname Nevski. In 1242, he defeated the Teutonic Knights. After the death of his father in 1246, he became Grand Duke of Kiev and Novgorod, and later became Grand Duke of Vladimir. To the end of his life Alexander remained the vassal of the Mongols. He died on the twenty-fourth of November, 1263. Because of what he achieved for Russia, Alexander-Nevski was canonized and praised in song and writing. A monumental convent was erected in his memory by Peter the Great, close to the scene of his defeat of the Swedes.

⁸ Sovereign Duke of Holstein. He was later one of the regents during the minority of the Emperor Peter II.

⁹ In 1722, Peter declared war against Persia. The robbery of Russian merchants in Persian territory provoked the war. The Russians captured Baku, and occupied Daghestan, Ghilan, Mazanderan, Recht and Asterabad.

¹⁰ In their accounts of this order, such authorities as Burke and Wahlen ascribe its foundation to George Ossilinsky, Great Chancellor of the Republic of Poland. They state that this nobleman, having been given the

title of "Prince" by the Pope, founded the Order of the Immaculate Virgin. From this order they state that the Order of the White Eagle is derived. The author has found nothing to substantiate these statements. Neither the official Russian nor the official Polish histories of this order ascribe such a history to the order.

¹¹ Vladislav I, The Short, was the son of Casimir, Duke of Cujavia. In 1288, he made himself King of Poland with the help of some of the nobility. As a result of a war with the Duke of Silesia, and the King of Bohemia, he was forced to flee. After the death of the Bohemian King he succeeded in capturing Cracow, and in 1312, he completely crushed his enemies and re-united the Polish territories under his rule. In 1320, the Pope sanctioned his coronation as King of Poland. The marriage of his son Casimir with Anna, Princess of Lithuania, paved the way towards the union of that country with Poland. He died in 1333.

¹² August II, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Saxony was the son of John George III, Elector of Saxony. In 1696, he declared himself a candidate for the throne of Poland. Bidding higher than Prince Conti and adopting the Catholic faith he was crowned King of Poland as August II, at Cracow, on the 15th of September, 1697. Having joined Peter the Great in his wars against Sweden, August was forced to abandon his claims to the throne of Poland. In 1709, after the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava, August again proclaimed himself King of Poland and, with the help of a Saxon army, was seated on the Polish throne. In 1716, he was obliged to make a compact with certain Polish noblemen who were against the employment of a Saxon army in Poland. Thereafter, his court was a scene of splendor. August II died February 1, 1733, of an old wound. He was the father of numerous illegitimate children, the most famous of whom was Marshal Saxe.

¹³ See Introduction.

¹⁴ Saint George The Martyr is the patron saint of Eng-

land and Portugal as well as of Russia. Very little is known of his life. Many legends have grown up around him and he has come to be thought of as the warrior saint. He is said to have been born at Lydda or Ramleh in Palestine, and to have embraced Christianity and suffered martyrdom in Nicomedia in April, 303 A. D. He was extremely popular with the English crusaders and the battle cry "Saint George for England" has been handed down through the centuries. The story of Saint George and the dragon first appeared in the *LEGENDA AUREA* of Jacobus de Voragine. He is a saint of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church as well as of the Church of England. He is also venerated by the Mohammedans as Ghergis or El Khouder.

¹⁵ In 1834, the conquest of the Caucasus, which took 30 years, was begun. As a result of this campaign the Russian boundaries were greatly extended in the southeast.

¹⁶ In April 1877, Russia declared war against Turkey. This war was entered into because of the maltreatment of the Bulgarians and the other Christian subjects of Turkey. The war was terminated by the Treaty of San Stefano on March 3rd, 1878, after the Russian armies had nearly reached Constantinople.

¹⁷ Vladimir I, The Great, The Saint, was the first Christian sovereign of Russia. He ruled from 980 to 1015. The accounts of his life must be taken from sagas as no other information has been handed down. As far as can be ascertained he became Ruler of Russia after the death of his brothers. At this time Russia was a loose union of Slavic tribes and Russian principalities without a central organization. In order to consolidate his authority he decided to adopt Christianity. The main reason for this was that a great many of his subjects were Greek Christians and his mother, Olga, had been baptised. This, and his desire for an alliance with the Byzantine Empire, prompted him to ask for the hand of the sister of Constantine IX, the Byzantine emperor. He promised peace

and adherence to Christianity. His offer was accepted and in 988 he was baptised and married to Anna, the sister of the emperor. Upon his return to Kiev he destroyed all idols and erected churches and monasteries. He died on the 15th of July, 1015. The Russian Orthodox Church has canonized him and decreed him the "equal of the Apostles."

¹⁸ For Classified Position, see Introduction.

¹⁹ See the Order of Saint Anna for further data.

²⁰ See Note 2, Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky.

²¹ See Note 2, Order of Saint Alexander-Nevsky.

²² Stanislaus August Poniatovsky was the last independent king of Poland. He was born in 1732, the son of Count Stanislav Poniatovsky, at Wolczyn. In 1752, he was elected to the Polish Diet. Later he was sent as ambassador to Russia. While there he gained the confidence of the Empress Catherine the Great and became her lover. After the death of Augustus III of Poland, Catherine used her influence to gain the throne for Poniatovsky, who was elected in September, 1764. In 1795, after the third partition of Poland, he laid down his crown. Personally an educated and fine-looking man, he lacked character and permitted his country to fall into anarchy.

²³ Saint Stanislav, a minor saint of the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches.

²⁴ Frederick August, King of Saxony and Grand Duke of the Duchy of Warsaw. He was born in 1750, the son of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Christian. He succeeded his father in 1763, under the regency of his uncle, Prince Xavier. In 1791, he was offered the crown of Poland but refused it. In December, 1806, he was forced to conclude a treaty with Napoleon I, after having unsuccessfully fought him. By virtue of this treaty he was allowed to assume the title, King of Saxony. In 1807, he was invested with the title of Grand Duke of the Duchy of Warsaw. He was never the actual ruler of the country, however, as Napoleon himself exercised the power. After the entry of

the allies into Leipzig, in 1813, he was forced to vacate the Dukedom of Poland and cede half of his kingdom to Prussia. He died in 1827.

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CORINTHIAN HOARDS

(CORINTH AND ARTA)

BY OSCAR RAVEL

Regret has frequently been expressed at the small amount of information to be obtained from the hoards of pegasi which have been unearthed in Sicily and Southern Italy. The few hoards recorded are described so summarily that it is nearly impossible to identify most of the coins mentioned. This lack of information is one of the chief difficulties met in attempting to date the Corinthian staters. Recently in the Numismatic Chronicle,¹ Mr. Zograph published a Sicilian hoard of pegasi formerly in Count Shuwalow's collection and now in the Hermitage. This hoard seems to be the first carefully described find of pegasi. It is to be regretted, however, that the other coins which were certainly in the hoard are not known, and that no practical conclusions concerning the chronology of the pegasi can be drawn from it, due to the wide range of the coins, which cover almost the entire period of the Corinthian issues.

The writer has recently been fortunate in securing two small hoards of Corinthian coins; one composed exclusively of archaic issues, the other of the very latest pegasi of Corinth and Acarnania. In the fol-

¹ A. Zograph, *Pegasos staters from a Sicilian hoard found in the past century*. Num. Chr. 1928, p. 115.

lowing notes a careful description of these finds is given.

HOARD FROM CORINTH, 1928

The coins here described were bought in Paris from several dealers all of whom had received them from the same source. All the coins, 36 in number, were covered with a thick coating of purple oxide. Since their appearance was identical, it is obvious that they all belonged to the same find. Whether the thirty-six coins form the entire hoard could not be ascertained. Probably they did not. What available information there is would seem to indicate that, if any, only a few small pieces were lacking. At any rate, the thirty-six coins obtained from the Paris dealers certainly represent the bulk of the find. According to report, they seem to have been found near Corinth just after the earthquake of 1928. A peculiarity of the hoard is that all are of Corinth with the exception of three coins hitherto attributed to Tegea. Not a single coin of another mint was found among them.

It is well known that most of our Corinthian coins come from hoards found in Sicily or Southern Italy. Very few archaic coins,¹ however, or those of small denominations are found there. This would seem to indicate that only after the archaic coinage had ceased (about 450 B. C.) did the pegasi become a

¹ The Hoard of Tarentum, *Revue Numismatique* 1912, is perhaps the only one which contained several very early staters.

kind of international currency, and that the small coins or fractions of staters then, as well as previously, were employed chiefly as local currency and were only exceptionally exported with the pegasi.

Due to the thick oxidization, the coins had to be cleaned, and many, though originally in good condition, suffered and lost weight in the cleaning process.

1. Pegasos with the curled wing flying l., beneath, ♀.

Rev. Modification of the incuse "swastika" pattern. This consists of a cross in relief, inside an incuse square; a small bar branches off from the middle of each cross-bar, all four in the same direction, clockwise, from left to right.

B. M. Cat. Corinth. No. 42.

Obol. grm. 0.42.

2. Pegasos as above, but flying r., beneath, ♀.

Rev. Same incuse pattern, but the four branches are in the opposite direction, counter-clockwise, from right to left.

B. M. Cat. Corinth No. 46 var.

Obol. (?), grm. 0.50.

3. Bridled Pegasos with curled wing flying r., beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Athena r., with hair in queue ending in a small knot and wearing a Corinthian helmet without neck-guard, a necklace and a grape-cluster earring composed of a transverse bar and five beads. The lips of the goddess are almost vertical. Deep incuse square.

B. M. Cat. No. 73 var.

Stater, grm. 8.25 fine.

4. Very similar to previous.

Rev. Large head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet, necklace, and grape-cluster earring composed of five beads. Hair in queue tied with a ribbon forming a loop. Deep incuse square.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater, grm. 8.00. Although the coin has suffered from oxidization, it also shows traces of wear.

5. Very similar Pegasos, probably same die.

Rev. Small head of Athena to r., hair in queue ending in a small knot. The goddess wears a Corinthian helmet, necklace, and grape-cluster earring composed of a transverse bar and three beads. Incuse square.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater, grm. 8.10. Very fine. This, like the previous coins, has suffered through oxidization.

6. Bridled head of Pegasos to l., eye very large and seen full face.

Rev. Large Δ in deep incuse square.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Diobol, grm. 0.65.

7. Bridled head of Pegasos to l, beneath, ♀.

Rev. Large Δ , in deep incuse square.

B. M. Cat. No. 97.

Diobols, 12 specimens from different dies. grm. 0.68 to 0.90.

8. Same, but Pegasos head to r.

Rev. Same as above.

B. M. Cat. No. 103.

Diobols, 15 specimens from different dies, from grm. 0.70 to 0.90.

9. Corinthian helmet, without crest, to r.; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Large T in deep incuse square.

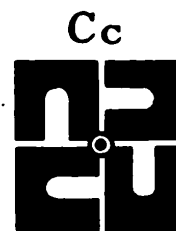
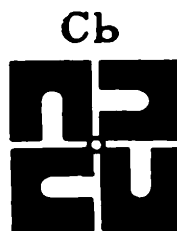
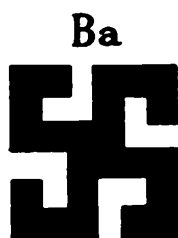
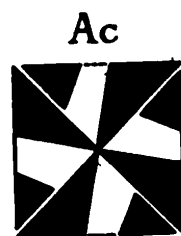
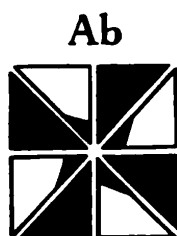
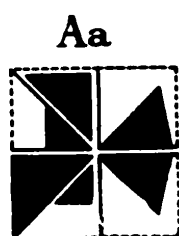
B. M. Cat. Peloponnesus, Tegea No. 3.

Trihemiobols, three specimens, very fine, grm. 0.44, 0.45, before cleaning grm. 0.56.

The earliest coins of the find are the small denominations with the so-called "swastika" pattern on the reverse. No. 1 is an obol, while No. 2 is probably a trihemiobol since its weight falls below that of the normal obol.

In endeavoring to establish the chronological sequence of the staters of Corinth with the incuse reverses, the author has observed that practically all the specimens examined come from different dies. This is probably due to the fact that but a few coins have yet reached us in comparison to the large number issued. Their die-sequence is, therefore, impossible to ascertain. Nor can the style of the Pegasos be counted on as a safe guide, especially for these very early archaic coins. An attempt to set forth a chronological classification therefore would, be hazardous, were it not possible to note that the incuse device changes gradually from the earliest Aeginetan incuse to the modification of the swastika which we find on the small denominations of the present find.

In order to show the evolution of these incuse reverses, some schematic cuts of the different types are given below:



- A (a. Coll. Jameson, not in his catalogue.
 (b. " Warren, pl. XX, 865.
 (c. " Pozzi 1642.
 B (a. Coll. de Luynes 2153.
 (b. " Jameson, not illustrated (Trouville de
 Tarente, Revue Num. 1912 pl. III, 16).
 C (a. Coll. Pozzi, 1644.
 (b. " " 1645.
 (c. B. M. Cat. Corinth, pl. 1, n. 6.

The link between the earliest Aeginetan incuse *Aa* and the swastika is *Ac*. While it still is composed of triangular compartments, it already suggests the idea of a "crux-gammata" or swastika. The engraver had only to square the central angles to make a real swastika, *Ba*. The only difference between *Ba* and *Bb* is that the small outside branches of the cross are longer on the latter *Bb* than on the former *Ba*. The result is, however, that one can see on *Bb* either the incuse swastika, or, by optical illusion, a deep incuse square divided into four compartments by a central cross in relief. This optical illusion led probably to the following device *C*, which is no longer an incuse swastika but a cross in relief, inside an incuse square.

Half-way up each cross-bar of the cross, a little bar branches off, all four in the same direction, sometimes clockwise and sometimes counter-clockwise. In some cases there is a pellet in relief in the center of the cross, sometimes a small ring. (*Cb-Cc*). These *C* reverses are no longer really incuse, but are the beginning of the relief-reverses. They were certainly issued just before the Athena's head was placed on the reverses of the pegasi. The two small denominations of the find (Nos. 1-2) belong to this group.

The three staters above described (Nos. 3, 4, and 5) have obverses which are very similar. The koppa is placed in the same position, almost horizontal, with the tail toward the right, and only small differences in the shape of the Pegasos' wing show that

they do not come from the same die. All the reverses have the goddess wearing the same kind of earring, a peculiarity found only on a small number of late archaic pegasi. These peculiarities indicate that the three coins are almost contemporary. Because of the great difference of style in the treatment of Athena's face, one would otherwise have scarcely reached this conclusion. The face of No. 3, with the quaint expression of the tight-set lips, looks much earlier than the others. The head on No. 4 is more advanced in style, but the eye is large and represented facing. The large size of this head is quite exceptional. On no other archaic stater has the writer seen a head of these dimensions. No. 5 presents, on the contrary, a very small head, and the eye of the goddess is almost in profile.

The bulk of the hoard consisted of a large number of diobols with the delta, practically all from different dies. Only three principal varieties of these are described, as the others offer only slight differences in the size and shape of the head of Pegasos and of the delta. One specimen, No. 6, is interesting; the Pegasos has an eye seen facing just as on the corresponding Athena heads of the staters.

The small coins (No. 9), with the large T on the reverse, have always been attributed to Tegea. Gardner describes the London specimens in the Peloponnesus catalogue of the British Museum,¹

¹ P. 200, n. 9, pl. XXXVII n. 8.

and Head,¹ Babelon,² and Grose³ all repeat the same attribution. They failed to notice that on some well-centered specimens there is a small ϑ under the helmet. On most specimens this letter is off-flan. Imhoof-Blumer, in dealing with the coin, noticed the ϑ, and preferring not to attribute it to Tegea because of the large T, placed it among "uncertain mints."⁴

In the British Museum there is a small coin of Corinth⁵ showing the Pegasos head with a very short neck and a ϑ beneath. On the reverse, there is a large H in a deep incuse square (Pl. I No. b.). The H is the value mark of the coins, which was described by Head as a hemiobol belonging to the same issue as the diobols with Δ in the incuse square. In the comparison of these two coins with No. 9 of the hoard, one cannot escape noticing that all the reverses have a strong likeness. The large heavy T is placed in the same deep incuse square. On the obverses all three coins have a small ϑ. They certainly belong to the same mint, and if Δ stands for diobol and H for hemiobol, it must be that T is also a mark of value and, one standing for the trihemiobol.

The small denominations are seldom of the same weight either because the blanks were not carefully weighed, or because the wear and the loss of weight

¹ Hist. Num. p. 454.

² Traité, p. 654, n. 575.

³ The McClean Greek Coins II v. N. 7012.

⁴ Griechische Münzen p. 769, n. 799.

⁵ Cat. B. M. Cor. n. 112.

by oxidization are proportionally more than for large coins. These coins, however, can scarcely be anything else than trihemiobols, as the weight of 0.56 grm. is above that of an obol and below that of a diobol.

The shape of the Corinthian helmet on the obverse is the exact reproduction of that of the Athena helmet of No. 5 of the hoard.

The obvious conclusion is that these coins with the helmet are really trihemiobols of Corinth, and belong to the same issue as the obols with the delta. That the hoard was composed of coins from Corinth only and was found in Corinth argues further in favor of this attribution.

Because of the similar preservation of the staters and trihemiobols, it would seem that they were almost contemporary. Therefore, it might be inferred that these denominations with mark of value belong to the issues with the Athena's head. In the British Museum¹ (Pl. 1, a) there is an interesting coin with the same Pegasos' head as on the diobols with the delta, but whose reverse is the same as Nos. 1 and 2 of the find. This mule is a link between the issues with the incuse reverses and those with the mark of value on the reverse, and confirms our suggestion that the deformation of the swastika C is the last of the incuse reverses of the Corinthian issues.

It is remarkable that although some examples of small denominations with incuse reverses were in the find, none with the Gorgon's head were present.

¹ Cat. B. M. Cor. n. 47.

Is it not very likely, then, that these trihemionobols belong to a later issue and not to Head's period II?¹

To fix the approximate date of the burial of this small hoard is very difficult. Head dates his second period (Athena head) from 500 to 431 B. C.² Prof. Gardner thinks this period should begin at 550 B. C. Although I cannot agree with his statement that there has been an increase of weight between his second and third class,³ I think he is right. The date of the beginning of the issue is, however, of no importance in dating the burial. It is rather the date of the end which is of interest. In my study on the Ambracian pegasi,⁴ I placed the end of this period at 456 B. C. If I am correct, then, the date of burial would probably be about 470-460 B. C.

¹ Cat. B. M. Cor. XXI.

² Cat. B. M. Cor. XX.

³ A History of Anc. Coinage, p. 136. From the specimens we have collected (practically all private and public collections) we can say there is no difference in the standard between his 2nd and 3rd class. The only fact we have noticed is that the average preservation of the staters with the incuse reverses, is generally very poor. Only a few specimens exist in very fine preservation, and these do not show any difference of weight with the following issue.

⁴ Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 37, p. 87.

HOARD FROM ARTA

In the summer of 1929 the writer had the opportunity of securing a parcel of Corinthian coins from a man who had brought them from Greece. He declared that they had been found in an earthen pot near the river at Arta (Ambracia), and that only a part of the small denominations had been sold in Athens to a dealer. The find was composed mostly of the very latest issues of Corinthian pegasi. Considerable interest attaches to the lot through the presence of a large number of tetrobols of Philip II. The importance of this fact is obvious. If we could be sure that these coins had actually been found with the pegasi, the hoard would give us an approximate date for the end of the autonomous coinage of Corinth. Therefore, the writer made inquiries in Athens and was fortunate enough to trace the remainder of the find as well as to ascertain that the first information given was correct (and that the man who sold the coins was trustworthy). The coins seen in Athens were chiefly tetrobols of Philip II with the tripod symbol and some drachms of Corinth.

All the coins examined had the same appearance, being coated with a very slight grayish oxide partially covered with an earthlike reddish crust. They all came, without any doubt, from the same hoard.

The coins examined follow:

CORINTH

1. Pegasos with pointed wing flying l. (♀ completely obliterated).

Rev. Head of Athena l. wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive-wreath, over large neck-guard; under chin, **A**; under neck, **P**; to right, Athena Promachos.

B. M. Cat., No. 256.

Stater, grm. 8.05. Much worn. The olive-wreath is completely obliterated; very slight traces are visible on the edges of the helmet to show that it existed.

2. Pegasos as above; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing plain Corinthian helmet over neck-guard; under chin **I**; to r., quiver and bow.

B. M. Cat., No. 354.

Stater, grm. 8.40, somewhat worn.

3. Pegasos as above; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive-wreath. Two rows of heavy locks, some of which cover neck-guard. To r., Nike flying left, carrying fillet (?).¹

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater. Two specimens, one worn and the other fine. grm. 8.10 and 8.45.

4. Pegasos as above; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Large Athena's head l., wearing plain Corinthian helmet. Hair, as previous, over neck-

¹ It is more like a bow than a fillet.

guard; to r., Φ and Nike flying to left, carrying fillet (?).

B. M. Cat., No. 412.

Stater, grm. 8.70, very fine.

5. Pegasos flying l., two feathers of second wing visible; beneath, φ .

Rev. Head of Athena to r. The locks do not go over neck-guard; to l., Nike (possibly Apteros), carrying fillet (?), between the Nike and the neck-guard, deformation of the previous monogram.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater, grm. 8.20, very fine.

6. Same die.

Rev. Sketchy barbaric copy of previous reverse. The Nike is hardly recognizable and the monogram is reduced to a nondescript little crosslike sign.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater, grm. 8.70, very fine.

7. Pegasos with large wing flying l., one feather of second wing visible; beneath, φ .

Rev. Head of Athena l., two rows of locks, one over neck-guard; to r. Ξ and eagle to r. Very bad style.

B. M. Cat., No. 396.

Stater, grm. 6.90, very fine.

8. Pegasos very fat, with small head, flying l., one wing visible; beneath, φ .

Rev. Athena's head l., wearing helmet and necklace of beads; hair coming out from under neck-guard in only one row; to r., tiny figure of a herm, full-face, holding a palm, and wearing a pointed cap.

B. M. Cat. — —.

Stater, grm. 7.60, very fine.

9. Pegasos flying l.; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing necklace of beads and helmet, hair in two rows, one very curly over neck-guard; to r. prow; over helmet, large **A**.

B. M. Cat. — —. Oman No. 20.¹

Stater, grm. 8.20, exceedingly fine.

10. Large heavy Pegasos flying l. Wing curled upwards; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Large head of Athena l., hair in long locks over neck-guard; to r. **Λ** and mast with yard (stylis).

B. M. Cat., No. 371.

Stater, grm. 8.10, exceedingly fine.

11. Pegasos flying l.; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Athena to l., wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive-wreath, and necklace of beads; to r., **Μ** and ithyphallic term to r.; hair as previous.

B. M. Cat., No. 405.

Stater grm. 8.35, very fine.

12. Very similar to previous.

Rev. Athena's head l., wearing plain Corinthian helmet and necklace of beads; hair over neck-guard; to r., **Μ** and term to r.; to l., under chin, **B**.

B. M. Cat., No. 404.

Stater, six specimens from different dies, all very fine to exceedingly fine, from grm. 8.10 to 8.45.

¹ Sir Ch. Oman, *Some Problems of the Later Coinage of Corinth*, Num. Chr. 1926, pl. IV, 20. The **A** on this specimen is off-flan.

13. Pegasos with pointed wing flying l.; beneath, ♀.

Rev. Head of Nymph Peirene, wearing saccos, to l.
B. M. Cat., No. 184.

Drachm, two specimens (others in Athens) from different dies; one worn, one good, grm. 2.40–2.45.

LEUCAS

14. Pegasos with pointed wing flying r.; beneath, Λ.

Rev. Head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet to l.; to l. amphora, over which is bunch of grapes and Α.

B. M. Cat., No. 91.

Stater grm. 8.25, worn.

15. Pegasos flying l.; beneath, Λ.

Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet, hair over neck-guard; to r., ΑΠΙ and anchor.

B. M. Cat., No. 103.

Stater grm. 8.45, worn.

ANACTORIUM

16. Pegasos with pointed wing, flying r.; beneath, Α.

Rev. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; to l., tripod in laurel-wreath and Α.

B. M. Cat., No. 37.

Stater, grm. 8.50, much worn.

AKARNANIA

17. Pegasos with pointed wing slightly curled upwards, flying l.; beneath, Α.

Rev. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet, hair over neck-guard; to r., vine-branch with grapes.

B. M. Cat., No. 1.

Stater, Three specimens, grm. 8.30 to 8.40, fine and very fine.

18. Head of man-headed bull (Achelous) r., beardless; to l., ..KOYPTOZ downwards.

Rev. Apollo Actiuş naked, seated l. on throne, holding bow; to r. downwards, AKAPNANQN; to l., D.

B. M. Cat., Thessaly, No. 10.

Hemistater, grm. 5.15, exceedingly fine.

MACEDONIA

19. Head of Apollo r. bound with plain taenia; dotted border.

Rev. ΦΙΑΙΓΓΟΥ, naked horseman, prancing r.; beneath, bearded head of Achelous r.

Müller, No. 206.

Tetrobol, two specimens from different dies, both very fine; grm. 2.45.

20. Similar Apollo's head.

Rev. ΦΙΑΙΓΓΟΥ, same horseman prancing r.; beneath, aplustre. An exactly similar symbol is found on a late Corinthian Pegasos (Cf. B. M. Cat., Pl. V, No. 5).

Müller — —.

Tetrobol, grm. 2.45, very fine.

21. Head of Apollo laureated to r.; dotted border.

Rev. ΦΙΛΙΓΓΟΥ, naked horseman prancing r.; beneath, tripod.

Müller 68–69.

Tetrobol, About 30 specimens, from several dies, from fine to very fine, grm. 2.35–2.45.


Coin No. 1 of the hoard shows the poorest preservation. It is so much worn that the olive-wreath of Athena's helmet and the koppa beneath the Pegasos are completely obliterated. This coin belongs to the series with the initials **A - P** coupled with various symbols. Prof. Oman dates these coins 336–323 B. C., and suggests, although only interrogatively, that the olive wreath is to be explained as referring to Alexander's victories. He supposes that the nine coins with **A - P**, are the only ones of all the series of Corinthian Pegasi, invariably having a helmet bound with a wreath;¹ but these are not the only wreathed coins. Several other Corinthian pegasi, belonging to quite different periods also display a wreath. For example, the early coin in Berlin, illustrated in Oman's "The Fifth Century Coins of Corinth,"² shows an unmistakable olive-wreath on the helmet, while other coins known to the author have obverses from the same die coupled with reverses presenting

¹ Prof. Sir Ch. Oman. *Some Problems of the Later Coinage of Corinth*, Num. Chr. 1926, p. 27. The author speaks of nine different symbols, but he really only mentions eight: Chimaera, Palladium, Cornucopia, Eagle, Boar, Ivy-leaf, Plough, Aegis. There are two more symbols coupled with the same letters: Helmet and Triton, the first very rare, the second fairly common.

² Num. Chr. 1909.

Athena's helmet wreathless. Our own two late coins Nos. 3 and 11 and B. M. Cat. No. 138, Pl. III, No. 13, show the wreath. Furthermore, the staters with **A-P** do not invariably have the wreathed helmet. The fairly common coin with a triton is generally found without a wreath (Bement, No. 1211), although the writer has noted a die with the wreath in the Museum of the Hague. In the writer's collection there is a specimen with the eagle symbol without the wreath. The two coins of the present hoard previously referred to, No. 3 and 11, are certainly contemporary with Nos. 4 and 12. They have the same symbols, and Nos. 11 and 12 the same monogram. Yet, some of these have a plain helmet and others a wreathed one. The Hunterian coin (Pl. XXXVI, No. 17), as already noted by Mr. Newell,¹ belongs to the same issue and shows a helmet decorated with an oak wreath. In Berlin there is a stater having its reverse from the same die as the above mentioned coin in the B. M. (No. 138), and its obverse from a different die. From this same obverse die the writer has noted seven other coins with reverses from as many different dies.² It is obvious that these eight coins were issued at about the same time, but why has only one reverse a wreathed helmet? If we consider the olive wreath as an allusion to some victory, it would not be easy

¹ Alexander Hoards, N. N. & M. No. 39, p. 26.

² Hirsch XXV, N. 1089 with , Vienna 39, dog, Vienna 102, snake, Pozzi 1669, snake, Ratto 1927, snake, Ravel, trident and snake.

to understand why in the same set of coins, all issued at about the same time, some have it and others do not. Besides, there are some very rare pegasi with Athena's helmet decorated in different ways. For instance, there is one in the Vienna Museum with a palmette on the bowl of the helmet, and in Berlin another with a coiled serpent as on some gold staters of Alexander.

At other mints we find Athena's helmet decorated in a similar way. At Thurium, for instance, we meet very often the early olive wreath, replaced on later issues by ivy leaves, a griffin, a sphinx, and a Scylla. At Pharsalos the olive wreath is very rarely met, but there is a great variety of similar helmet decorations as Scylla, a winged serpent, a Sphinx, etc. Why should we suppose a special meaning for the olive wreath at Corinth and not at the other mints. It seems more logical to believe that, as in Pharsalos and Thurium, so also in Corinth, the olive, laurel and oak wreaths were adopted, just as the coiled serpent or palmette, simply for decorative purposes.

We do not know that Corinth's elation over the victories of Alexander was sufficient to cause her to refer to them on her currency but, in the writer's opinion, we may safely discard the old interpretation of the olive wreath.

If the olive wreath is no more than an ornament on the helmet, there is no reason to attribute the series with **A-P** to 336-323 B. C. The wear on the very poor specimen with the Athena Promachos

found in the hoard suggests that this series might have been issued even before Philip II. This is important because it indicates that almost all the hitherto accepted dates for the issues of Corinthian pegasi must be moved back. For the time, this remark must suffice; as it is beyond the scope of this paper, no attempt to date this issue will be made at this time. The correct dating of Corinthian issues can be decided only when the die-sequences of the Corinthian coinage has been well established, and at present too much evidence is still unavailable.

The presence of so proportionately large a number of tetrobols of Philip II in this small hoard seems to indicate they were more common (probably in Ambracia) than the pegasi at the time of its concealment. On the other hand, the bulk of the pegasi are of the very last issues of the autonomous coinage of Corinth. As the pegasi are in about the same state of preservation as the coins of Philip II, we have through this hoard evidence that practically all of these coins were contemporaneous. Consequently, if we are able to establish the date of issue of the tetrobols, we should be able to deduce an approximate date for the end of the autonomous coinage of Corinth.

Mr. E. T. Newell with whom I communicated about the present hoard, kindly responded that he thinks the tetrobols with the Achelous head perhaps contemporaneous with Philip II, but more probably posthumous; that those with the tripod are certainly

posthumous, coming after 316 B. C. and possibly as late as circa 295 B. C. or slightly later. If this is correct, and Mr. Newell's authority on the subject is such that we may take for granted that he is right, almost all present accepted datings for the latest issue of Corinthian pegasi are too late.

It is generally believed that Corinth continued to strike her own currency under the Macedonian rulers, and stopped only when in 243 B. C. she was delivered by Aratus and joined the Achaean League.¹ Prof. Oman, in his previously mentioned study, goes even further. He thinks that Corinth continued coining her own pegasi down to 223 B. C.

It has always been difficult for me to share Prof. Oman's belief that the Macedonians permitted Corinth to continue striking her own currency. I have tried in vain to find support for this theory and have been unable to discover textual or other evidence to justify it. Is this no more than an hypothesis suggested long ago and since taken for granted by everyone?

The pegasi of our find, Nos. 4 to 12, are of the very last issues in Corinth. Their preservation, very-fine to extremely fine, is about the same as that of the tetrobols of Philip II included in the hoard. They must therefore be contemporary. A peculiarity of these pegasi is their extreme ugliness; some are so markedly bad that they look like barbaric imitations. No. 6, for example, which has its obverse from the same die as No. 5 and is therefore certainly

¹ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 403.

an official issue, is not only of bad style, but its reverse die seems to have been cut by a very unskilled worker. The eye of the goddess is reduced to a simple pellet, the Nike is like a faint shadow, scarcely perceptible, and the monogram is reduced to a nondescript cross-like sign. The coin is not worn as one would suppose from the plate, but is very fine, not showing the slightest trace of wear. Another striking peculiarity, is that the weights of some of these coins seem most erratic.

No. 5 and the above mentioned coin are both very well preserved. They weigh respectively grm. 8.20 and 8.70 and the more ugly of the two is the heavier. Coin No. 7, likewise of fine preservation, weighs only grm. 6.90. This exceptionally low weight caused the author to suspect the coin of being plated, but a test proved that such is not the case. No. 8, also in fine condition, weighs 7.60.

Study of these coins produces the feeling that they were made by engravers "de fortune." Perhaps they were issued after the regular staff of the Argyrokopeion of Corinth had already been dispersed and the mint had been idle for some time. If the mint of Corinth had been closed—as we suppose—like the mint of Ambracia under the Macedonian Oligarchy and reopened under special circumstances for but a short time, the above mentioned peculiarities would be readily explained. Possibly, when in 319 B. C. Polysperchon promulgated his Decree of Liberty giving to Greek towns their autonomy, Corinth thought herself authorized

to revert to her autonomous currency. We know the famous edict was a mere political move against Cassander rather than a real wish to restore the liberties of the Greek towns. Hence, it is probable that such a restoration of the Corinthian mint would not have lasted long, and that the mint would again have been closed by Polysperchon in his war in the Peloponnesus against Cassander.

The interruption of the issues of Corinthian pegasi would, therefore, have extended from 338 to 319 B. C. The above mentioned series of late pegasi may have been issued between 319 and about 315–310 B. C.

Prof. Sir Charles Oman in his study dates the last staters of Corinth to 243–223 B. C. Our hoard, however, since it can hardly have been buried later than 280 B. C., supplies us with new evidence showing that these dates are far too late.¹

The two coins Nos. 9 and 10 show peculiarities worth noticing. The first has a large **A** over Athena's helmet which is too conspicuous to be a magistrate's initial, and which is strikingly similar to the large **A** often found in the same position on several Ambracian pegasi. As the symbol, a prow,

¹ Cf. E. T. Newell, *Alexander hoards*, Num. Notes & Mon. No. 39, p. 26. The author too thinks that Prof. Oman's dates are too late. He says: It seems to the present writer that he places some, if not all, of his Corinthian staters too late. It should be noted that the Hunterian variety (pl. XXXVI, 17) of his pl. IV, 18, bears an unmistakable oak-wreath on Athena's helmet, hence this coin might fall more naturally in the age of Pyrrhus than in 243–223 B. C.

is also Ambracian, this coin seems to be a poor copy of the Ambracian stater, B. M. Cat., pl. XXIX, No.

1. Though it may be a mere coincidence, the fact that the coin was found in Arta, the very place where Ambracia stood, may indicate that the **A** stands for Ambracia.

The other coin, No. 10, has a reverse which is copied from a very common coin of Leucas.¹ There is the same small **A** behind the Athena head and the same mast with a yard (stylis) as a symbol. The likeness is so striking that Head noticed it when he described the coin in the British Museum.² Naturally only as an hypothesis, it is quite possible to suppose that when the Corinthian mint began to strike pegasi again, by a special agreement with Ambracia and Leucas, she struck these coins, which were considered a local currency, either in Corinth or in her old colonies just as the alliance coins of former time.

The three specimens of the rare stater with the monogram **A** under the Pegasos are of about the same preservation as the tetrobols.

The exceedingly fine specimen of the rare half stater of the Acarnanian League with the Achelous head presents a possibility of ascertaining with close approximation the date of issue of these coins. This issue has been dated quite variously, from 283 to 168 B. C. Prof. Gardner places the coinage of Acarnania between 300 and 229 B. C., and believes

¹ B. M. Cat. Corinth n. 97 to 102.

² B. M. Cat. Corinth p. 44, n. 371.

that the issue with the Achelous head began about 229 B. C. He thinks them contemporary with the coinage of the Epirote Republic under Roman rule.¹ Head is of the opinion that these federal coins took the place of the pegasi about 220 B. C.² Having noticed that the style of the Apollo on these coins is very similar to that of the Apollo seated on the prow on tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas, Imhoof-Blumer first attributed them to 283-239 B. C.³ Later, after attributing the tetradrachms to 265 B. C. after the naval victory of Antigonos Gonatas over the Egyptian fleet, near the island of Cos,⁴ he proposed the same date for the coins of the League.

Although these dates differ, they are all based on Imhoof-Blumer's suggestion. Both Gardner's and Head's dates are based on the belief that the tetradrachm, with the naval type were of Antigonos Doson.⁵ Head afterwards agreed with Imhoof-Blumer's attribution to Antigonos Gonatas,⁶ but did not change the dates of the coins of the Acarnanian League. Imhoof-Blumer's dating was prompted entirely by the above mentioned similarity of style. Such an argument may be used when no better data are forthcoming but usually further confirmation is required. Judging from the preservation of the above specimen, it could not have been issued

¹ Cat. B. M. Thessaly, p. lii.

² Hist. Num. p. 328.

³ Die Münzen Akarnaniens p. 39.

⁴ Monnaies Grecques p. 128.

⁵ B. M. Guide of Select Coins p. 76.

⁶ Hist. Num. p. 232

much after 300. We have seen that the Philip tetrobols can hardly be later than 280 and if this date is assigned for the burial of the hoard it would follow that Imhoof-Blumer's suggestion of style-connection between these earliest of the issues of the Acarnanian League and those of Antigonos Gonatas may prove untenable. It seems likely that the coins with the Achelous head were issued just after the pegasi of the League. It would be interesting to know why a standard that had nothing in common with the one in use at either Corinth or Macedonia was adopted.

It is very interesting to note that the tetrobols of Philip II weigh exactly the same as the Corinthian drachms (grm. 2.40-2.45). It is, therefore, quite natural to have such a large percentage of them in a hoard of pegasi of a transitional period when both Macedonian and Corinthian standards were in use in Corinth. The tetrobols must have been considered as Corinthian drachms and equated to them.

Despite the many elements of uncertainty in regard to the dating of some of the pieces found in this hoard, its importance for the coinages of both Corinth and Acarnania is very considerable. It is to be hoped that additional material may some day come to light which will permit more definite answers to the questions discussed herein.

CORINTH HOARD

PLATE I



3



4



5



1



2



6



A



7



8



9



D



ARTA HOARD



1



2



3



4



5



6



—7—



PLATE II



8



9



10



11



12a



12b



—13—



ARTA HOARD

PLATE III



14



15



16



17



18



19



—20—



—21—



cg
35
N9

JUL 5 - 1932

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 53



THE SYMBOLS ON STATERS OF CORINTHIAN TYPE (A Catalogue)

BY
JEAN B. CAMMANN

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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CORINTH--69b
(*Enlarged two Diameters*)



**THE SYMBOLS ON STATERS
OF CORINTHIAN TYPE
(A Catalogue)**

**BY
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THE SYMBOLS
ON STATERS OF CORINTHIAN TYPE
(A Catalogue)

BY JEAN B. CAMMANN

The Corinthian type on staters, minted or used by Corinth, her colonies and other places associated with her by trade or alliance, changes but slightly and very gradually during the period of their issue (fifth, fourth and part of third centuries, B. C.). The alterations are chiefly due to the development and subsequent degeneration of the artistic style, and therefore it is difficult to place the coins in a definite chronological sequence.

The British Museum Catalogue, Babelon's "Traité" and Ravel's "Colts of Ambracia" endeavor to arrange the staters in regular groups, either according to the style, the letters (of magistrates or of mints) or by die sequences. But no attempt has heretofore been made to classify these staters through the symbols, nor to illustrate the recurrence of similar symbols on coins of the "colonial" mints. These symbols (small pictures placed in addition to the regular type of the coin) are so numerous, so varied in character, and so minute in detail that numismatic works offer very imperfect lists of them, and frequently disagree as to their identification.

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In this catalogue all the symbols cited by the above writers, or found in catalogues of important sales, or on coins in Mr. E. T. Newell's and certain other private collections, are brought together and classified. (See list of references.) All references are to illustrations only, for no description in the text of any work is sufficiently detailed to identify the symbols or the differences in the dies on which they are found.

It seemed a most necessary part of this work to include a map of Corinth and her "colonies"—the locations where these staters were issued or used. And it is of interest to note that no great number of the Corinthian staters has ever yet been found at the Mother City, while some large hoards have been discovered in Sicily and may be seen at the Museum of Syracuse. (Athens is the only city marked on this map outside of the Corinthian connections.) The course of the river Acheloös is traced, as the horned head of the river god is used as a symbol so frequently by the mints, located by or near the stream.

With a few exceptions, such as the reproductions from Ravel's "Colts of Ambracia", the illustrations are photographed directly from the coins, and not, as is more customary, from casts. A collection of casts, or photographs from them, is at best a collection of death masks and most monotonous. Taken from the coins themselves, the photographs show all the vari-

ations and irregularities of flan, the texture of the metal, and the delicate modeling of the artist, which is so often lost in the cast.

The specimens used for illustrations in the catalogue are marked with an asterisk, and are generally taken from the collections of Mr. E. T. Newell, Mr. Hoyt Miller and the British Museum, to all of whom I am deeply indebted for their courtesy in allowing their coins to be used. The single illustration preceding the plates presents the very spirited Pegasos from the obverse die of Mr. Noe's coin (reverse die illustrated as 126 ♀ b). Very few of the Corinthian type staters have any symbol on the Pegasos die, and these Pegasi are generally from the "colonies" and in poor style. The winged horse is so essentially the parasemon of Corinth that it seems only fitting to show him at least once in his full beauty and action, although in this case there is no symbol on the die. Certain specimens are marked with a dagger; these coins have been chosen for enlargement, and have been selected for various reasons; some, as Mr. Newell's coin of Dyrrhachium, to bring out minute details. Others, including the splendid, early Corinthian stater with the trident, from Mr. Albert Gallatin's collection, are illustrated simply to draw attention to their beauty and artistic arrangement on the flan. Finally, and these are the most important, many of the tiny figures of gods, mortals and statues have been enlarged in order to

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facilitate identification. The two chief sources of reference, BMC and Babelon, differ frequently on the names for the symbols, and especially for these figures of Artemis, Dionysos, Poseidon, Zeus, etc. I have tried so far as is possible, to combine their opinions and to illustrate the exact figure cited by both. On these and other debatable questions I have availed myself of the advice and experience of Mr. Newell and Mr. Noe, and am most grateful to them for their assistance in every detail of the work.

The Corinthian stater shows on one die, usually the obverse, the winged horse Pegasos, who drank at the fountain of Peirene on the Acrocorinthus; and on the other die, the helmeted head of Athene Chalcinitis (Bridler) who aided Bellerophon in capturing the steed.

The symbols are generally found on the Athene die, and therefore the pages of this catalogue are arranged to show the position of each symbol, relative to the head of Athene. When, as in the case of Syracusan coins and certain others, the symbol occurs on the Pegasos die, it is placed in square brackets.

Only complete symbols are listed: thus, *Thymiaterion*, but not when appearing as *Nike*, bearing thymiaterion. When two different, distinct symbols are upon the same die, they are cross-indexed under their separate headings, together with a reference in italics to the other symbol: thus,

D. Dolphin. *Rose*

R. *Dolphin*. Rose

The symbols are listed in alphabetical order and numbered. At least one illustration is given of each symbol, and the illustration is numbered to correspond with the alphabetical list. If several illustrations are given of the same symbol occurring on coins of different localities, they bear the same number with the addition of the initial letters of the mint. (See Geographic list and map.)

Thus: Nike—84 on List

Illustrations—84 Am; 84 *N*; 84 *Q*; 84 *Λ*.

6 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

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Mr. Albert Gallatin. New York
Mr. S. P. Noe. New York
American Numismatic Society. New York
Mrs. Geo. P. Cammann. New York

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| 134. Warrior | |



110Λ^b

GREEK-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

- Acheloös: River-god as androcephalos bull
 Aegis: Breastplate of Athene with Gorgoneion
 Ambrax: Local hero of Ambracia
 Amphora: Wine jar, two handles
 Arathos: River-god of Ambracia
 Aphlaston: Ornament on stern of ship, taken from
 captured vessels as token of victory
 Astragalos: Knucklebone
 Bucranium: Ox skull
 Chimaera: Monster with heads of lion and goat, tail
 of serpent. Slain by Bellerophon mounted on
 winged horse Pegasos
 Fulmen: Thunder-bolt
 Gorgoneion: Head of Gorgon, monster with snaky
 locks. Slain by Perseus with sword Harpa
 Gorgos: Local hero of Ambracia
 Harpa: Sword, short, with hook on side. Loaned
 to Perseus by Hermes
 Hippocamp: Sea horse (ἵππος=horse. κάμπος=sea-
 monster)
 Hydria: Water jar
 Kantharos: Drinking cup, two handles

- Kerykeion: Caduceus; Hermes' staff, entwined with two serpents
- Kithara: Lyre; chelys, when formed from shell of tortoise (χελώνη)
- Kottabos: Greek game, played at banquets. See "Colts of Ambracia" p. 120
- Krater: Large jar or bowl for mixing wine, two handles
- Kyathos: Ladle
- Kylix: Shallow vase, two handles
- Lemneskoi: Fillets of ribbon for head ornaments
- Lituus: Diviner's rod, often interpreted as horned serpent
- Nike: Victory, winged figure
- Nikephoros: "Bearing figure of Nike"
- Obelisk, Ambracian: Xoanon, an archaic statue like tree trunk, representing Apollo of the Cross-roads (Babelon)
- Oenochöe: Vase with fluted lip, single handle
- Omphalos: Conical stone, seat of oracle at Delphi. Also boss in center of phiale
- Palmette: Acanthus ornament
- Patera: Libation salver
- Phiale: Libation saucer with central boss
- Pistrix: Sea serpent

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Promachos: "In front of battle". Athene Promachos
—armed and with raised lance.

Pteruges: Straps of leather or metal, hanging from
lower part of cuirass

Rhyton: Drinking vase, usually terminating in hu-
man or animal head

Strigil: Flesh scraper, used by athletes to remove oil

Stylis: Mast with yard

Tainia: Fillet, long, knotted

Term: Boundary pillar, square, with head of god,
usually Hermes or Dionysos

Thymiaterion: Incense burner

Thyrsos: Bacchic staff

Triskelis: Three bent human legs joined at thigh

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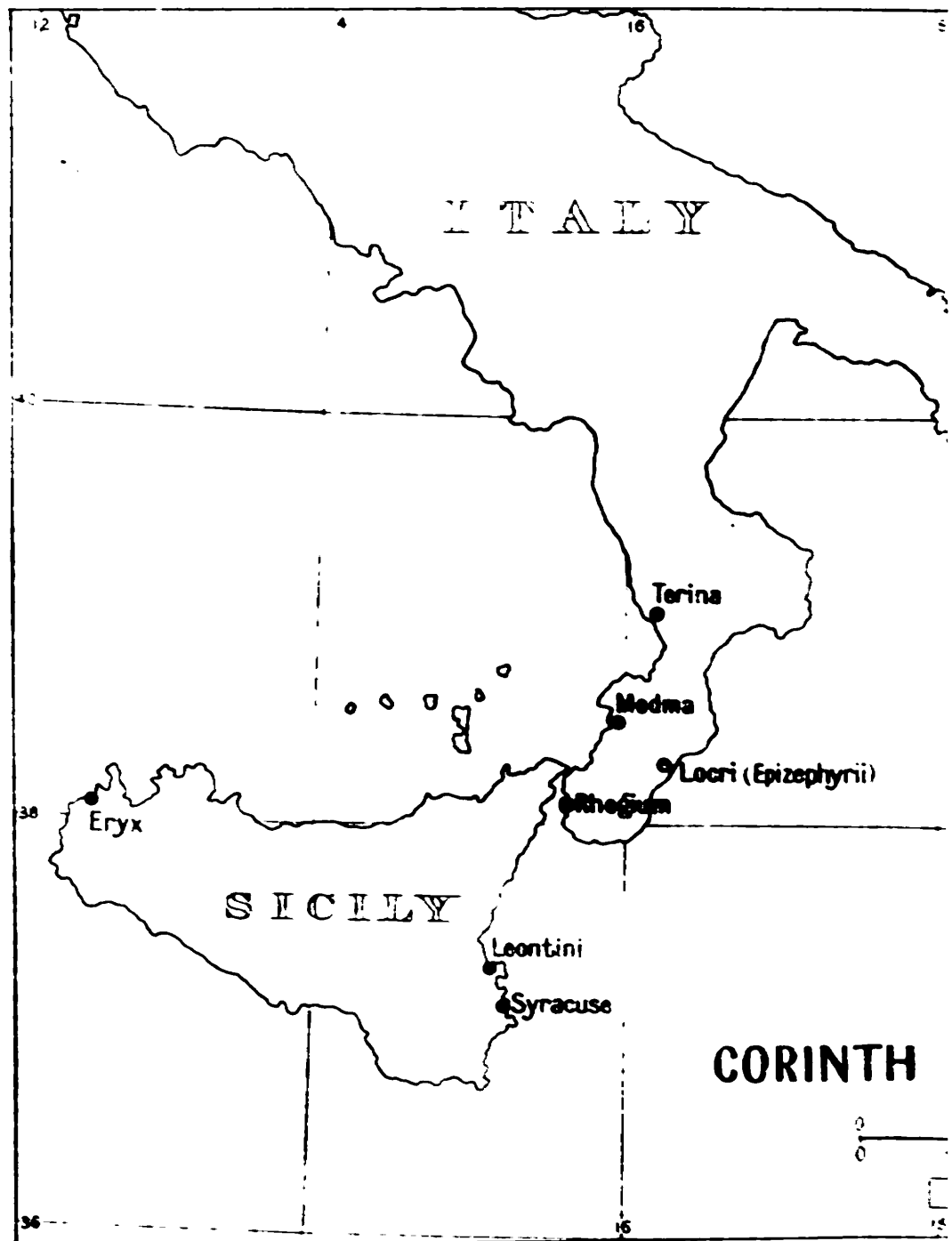
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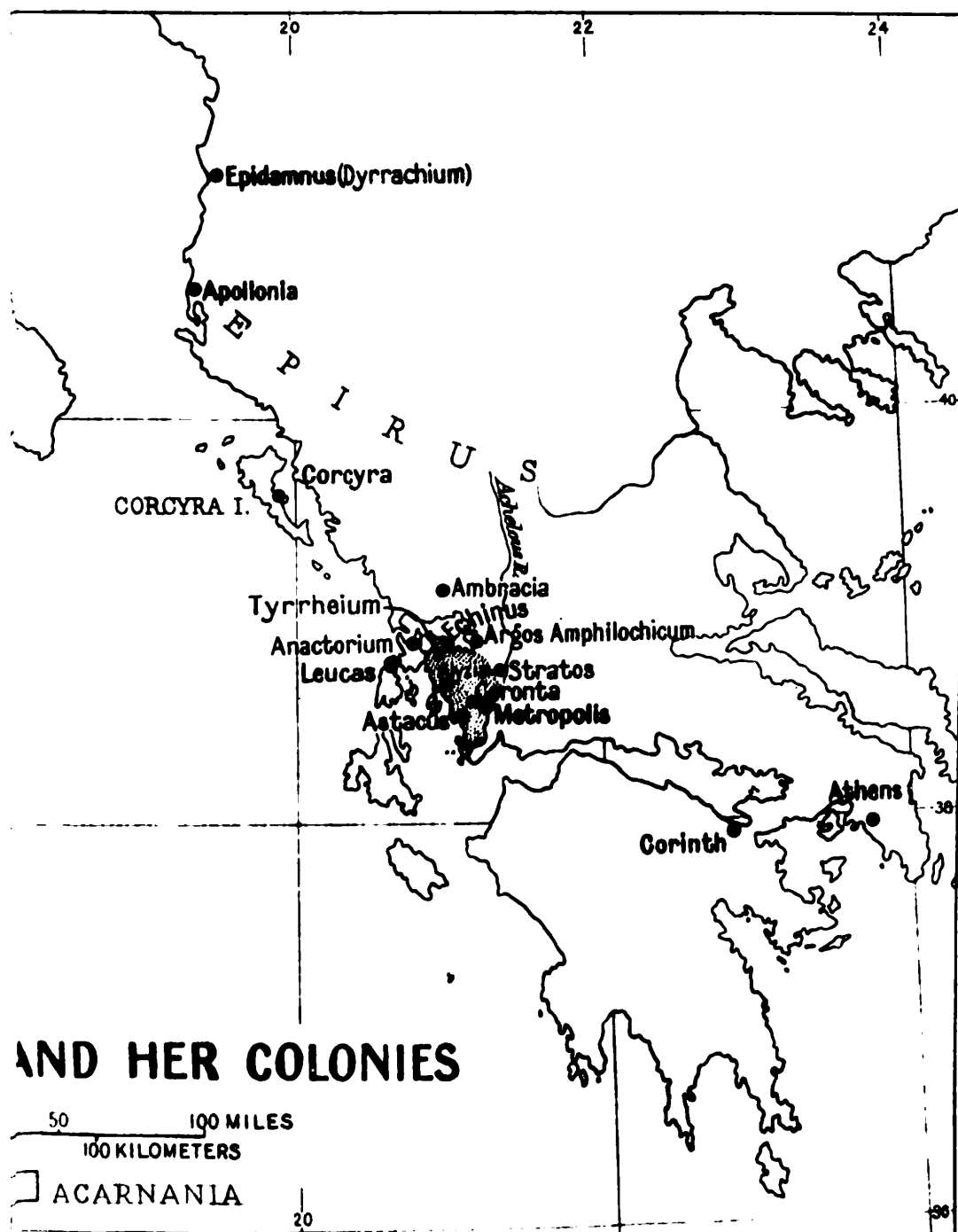
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20 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

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Alyzia (Acar.)	Al
Ambracia (Epirus)	Am
Anactorium (Acar.)	A
Apollonia (Illyria)	Ap
Argos Amphiloichicum (Acar.)	Ar
Astacus (Acar.)	As
Corcyra	C
Corinth	φ
Coronta (Acar.)	Co
Dyrrhachium (Illyria) Epidamnus	Dyr
Echinus (Acar.)	Ec
Epirus	Ep
Eryx (Sicily) no symbols found	
Leontini (Sicily)	Le
Leucas (Acar.)	Λ
Locri Epizephyrrii (Bruttium)	Lo
Medma, or Mesma (Bruttium) no symbols found	
Metropolis, or Medeon (Acar.)	M
Rhegium (Bruttium)	R
Stratos (Acar.)	Str
Syracuse (Sicily)	Syr
Terina (Bruttium) no symbols found	
Thyrrheium (Acar.)	⊙

26 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
1 ACHELOÖS	Acarnania	N
	Acarnania	Acheloös, head, profile r.
	Ambracia	(Pan type)
	Ambracia	(BMC – ‘andro- cephalos bull’.)
	Stratos	Acheloös, head, profile l.
	Stratos	Acheloös, head, profile r.
	Uncertain	Acheloös, head, profile r.
2 AEGIS	Corinth	A – P
3 ALTAR	Anactorium	API
4 AMPHORA	Corcyra	Amphora
	Corcyra	Amphora

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Acheloös, head, profile l.	BMC xxx. 7
Right	Γ Same w. Δ	*Newell BMC xxx. 8
Left	Acheloös, head, profile r.	*a Cammann Ravel xii. 138 Bab. cclxxxI. 7
Left	Acheloös, head, facing	*b Newell Ravel xii. 137 BMC xxviii. I Bab. cclxxxI. 8
Right	(Σ)TPATIΩN	*Newell Bab. cclxxI. 22-23
Right	(Σ)TPA	Bab. cclxxI. 24
Right	(BMC classifies as Pan)	*Newell BMC xxxix. 5 Bab. ccix. 29
Left	Aegis	*Cammann† BMC xii. 4 Bab. ccxiii. 26. 27
Left	ΔΩ Altar, flaming	*Am. Numis. S'y.† BMC xxxii. 14
Right		BMC xxx. 4 Bab. cclxxxiv. 13
Right	KOPKYPAIΩN	Imhoof. Bl. Gr. Münz II. 24

28 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
4 AMPHORA	Corcyra	Amphora, large
	Corcyra	Amphora, small
	Corcyra	Amphora, small
	Corinth	E
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Leucas	
5 ANCHOR	Leucas	Amphora, <i>Vine.</i> A
	Thyrrheium	⊙
	Leucas	
6 APHLASTON	Corinth	
	Corinth	Aphlaston
	Corinth	Aphlaston
	Corinth	Aphlaston ⊙ΥΞ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 29

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	KOP	BMC xxx. 1 Bab. CCLXXXIV. 8
Right	KOP	*Newell
Right	KOP	Bab. CCLXXXIV. 9
Left	Amphora, pointed	*Newell
Left	Amphora, decorated	*aMiller
Left	A. Amphora, <i>Vine</i>	*bCammann BMC xxxvi. 16 Bab. CCLXXV. 14
Right		BMC xxxvi. 15 Bab. CCLXXV. 13. 15
Left	Y. Amphora. AY	BMC xxxviii. 5
Left	API Anchor	*Newell BMC xxxvi. 20 Bab. CCLXXVI. 10
Left	Aphlaston	BMC v. 5
Left		*aMiller
Right		*bCammann† (frontispiece) BMC III. 21 Bab. ccx. 6
Right		Bab. ccxi. 20 Nav. V. 2090

30 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
7 A P O L L O	Anactorium	Apollo r. w. bow and patera (or bird) Δ
8 A P P L E	Corinth	A – Δ
9 A R A T H O S	Ambracia	Arathos, seated r. on bull's head A P A T
	Ambracia	Arathos (die altered from above coin)
10 A R C H E R	Corinth	Archer l. w. bow Δ I
11 A R T E M I S	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	Δ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 31

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		*Newell† BMC xxxi. 8 Bab. cclxxvii. 4
Left	Apple	*Cammann BMC ix. 18 Bab. ccxii. 17
Right	(A on Athe. helmet)	Ravel x. 116
Right	(A on Athe. helmet) APA⊙⊙OΣ	*Newell† Ravel xi. 123-126 BMC xxviii. 9 Bab. cclxxx. 15
Right	(also see Herakles) 58	*Newell Ratto (1927) 1467
Left	I Artemis r. w. bow	*aNewell† BMC xii. 22 Bab. ccxiv. 4
Left	I Artemis seated r. w. torch	BMC xii. 23
Left	I Artemis running r. w. torch	*bMiller BMC xii. 26 Bab. ccxiv. 5
Left	I Artemis running l. w. long torch	BMC xii. 25 Bab. ccxiv. 6
Left	I Artemis walking l. w. torch vertical	*cMiller BMC xii. 24 Bab. ccxiv. 7

32 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

		<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
11	ARTEMIS	Corinth	Δ
		Thyrrheium	\bar{A} (below)
12	ASTRAGALOS	Corinth	A
13	ATHENE	Corinth	A – P
		Corinth	Δ
		Corinth	Δ
14	AXE	Uncertain	
15	BEE	Ambracia	Bee, head up
		Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 33

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	I Artemis running r. w. torch and large olive bough	*dCammann
Left	EPI Artemis, fac- ing, head, l. w. two torches	*Newell BMC xxxviii. 10 Bab. cclxxix. 2
Left	Astragalos	*Cammann BMC ix. 5 Bab. ccxii. 6
Left	Athene Promachos	*aNewell BMC xii. 6 Bab. ccxiii. 29
Left	I Athene l. lance on shoulder	*bCammann BMC xii. 21 Bab. ccxiv. 3
Left	I Athene Nikephoros l.	*cMiller BMC xii. 20 Bab. ccxiv. 2
Left	Axe	*Newell BMC xxxix. 6 Ratto (1927) 1493
Right		*Newell Bab. cclxxxii. 10
Left	A. Bee	*Cammann BMC ix. 2 Bab. ccxii. 3

34 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
16 B O A R	Corinth	A – P

17 B o w	Alyzia	NQIAEYAA
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Alyzia	AAY
--------	-----

Alyzia	Bow. <i>Quiver</i>
--------	--------------------

Alyzia	AAY
--------	-----

Ambracia	A
----------	---

Anactorium

Corinth

Corinth	I
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Leucas

18 B U C R A N I U M	Anactorium
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OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 35

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Boar, on base- line. 1.	*Miller BMC XII. 1 Bab. CCXIII. 24
Left	Bow	*aCammann BMC xxx. 9 Bab. CCLXXII. 20
Left	Bow. <i>Quiver</i>	Ravel xviii. 2
Right	ΑΛΥΞΑΙΩΝ	BMC xxx. 10 Bab. CCLXII. 21
Left	Bow. <i>Club</i>	*bNewell Bab. CCLXXII. 18 Ratto (1927) 1142
Right	Bow (Bab. classes as Alyzia)	Ravel v. 54 BMC xxix. 2 Bab. CCLXXII. 17
Left	A. Bow	*Newell
Left	E. Bow	BMC vi. 6 Bab. CCXI. 6
Left	Bow. <i>Quiver</i>	*Newell BMC x. 23 Bab. CCXIV. 16
Left	Bow	*Newell BMC xxxiv. 8 Bab. CCLXXIII. 16
Left	Bucranium	BMC xxxi. 22 Bab. CCLXXVIII. 11

36 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
18 BUCRANIUM	Anactorium	KΛE
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Bucranium N
	Corinth	<i>Hand holding Torch</i> (Illus. as Torch)
19 BULL (1)	Alyzia	Bull's head, facing
	Ambracia	(Illus. as Acheloös)
	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	
	Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 37

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Α Bucranium w. fillets. Below, Α	*Newell BMC xxxii. 9 Ratto (1927) 1154
Left	Bucranium lying on side	Bab. ccix. 11
Right		BMC xi. 11
Right	Bucranium	BMC iii. 17
Right	ΑΛΥΕΑΙΩ(N)	*BMC xxx. 11 Bab. cclxxiii. 1
Left	Bull's head, facing	BMC xxviii. 1-2
Left	Bull, standing on Athene's helmet, butting l.	Ravel i. 12 *aBMC xxvii. 14 Bab. cclxxx. 6
Left	Bull, as above— smaller	Ravel i. 13
Left	Bull, on neck-guard of Athene's helmet, butting down	Ravel ii. 14
Left	Bull, forep. butting l.	Ravel x. 111 *bBMC xxvii. 15 Bab. cclxxxi. 2
Left	Bull's head facing	BMC iii. 1

38 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
19 BULL	Corinth	Bull's head r. facing
	Corinth	Bull's head, r. dec. w. fillets
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Bull's head, facing
	Corinth	
20 CAP	Corinth	
21 CHIMAERA	Ambracia	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	A – P
	Corinth	Chimaera r.

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 39

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		Bab. CCXI. 23
Right	EY	*aNewell Bab. CCXI. 16 De L. LXXXIII. 2195
Left	Bull's head, facing	*bCammann BMC v. 2 Bab. CCIX. 10
Right		Bab. CCIX. 9 Nav. v. 2084
Left	Bull, forepart, butting r.	*aNewell BMC IV. 1 Bab. CCIX. 30
Left	Ξ. Bull, forepart, butting l.	BMC VI. 3 Bab. CCXI. 3
Left	Cap, Phrygian	*Newell BMC III. 11 Nav. v. 2070
	[Pegasos r. Chimaera r.]	*Ravel XIII. 145
Left	Chimaera l.	Nav. v. 2105
Left	Chimaera l.	*aNewell† BMC XII. 5 Bab. CCXIII. 28
Right		BMC III. 14 Bab. CCIX. 15

40 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
21 CHIMAERA	Corinth	Chimaera r.
	Corinth	Chimaera, forep. r. <i>Pellet.</i> Ξ – K
22 CICADA	Ambracia	
	Corinth	
23 CLUB	Alyzia	Club down r.
	Alyzia	AAV
	Ambracia	Club, large
	Corinth	Club
	Corinth	I
	Dyr.	ΔYPPAXINΩN
	Dyr.	Club Ξ
	Dyr.	Club
	Dyr.	Club Δ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 41

<i>Athenic</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	⊙YΞ	BMC VII. 10 Bab. CCXI. 19
Right		*bNewell Nav. v. 2083
Left	Cicada	*Newell Ravel XIII. 141 BMC XXVIII. 5
Left	Cicada	BMC III. 10
Right	ΑΛΥ	*Newell Bab. CCLXXII. 19 Ravel XVII. 1
Left	<i>Bow. Club</i>	Bab. CCLXXII. 18 Ratto (1927) 1142
Right	(BMC and Bab class as Dyr.)	Ravel III. 29 BMC XXVI. 2 Bab. CCLXXXV. 7
Left		*Newell
Left	<i>Cock on Club</i> (Illus. as Cock)	BMC x. 21 Bab. CCXIV. 14
Left	Σ Club	BMC XXVI. 3
Right	ΔYPPAX(INΩN)	BMC XXVI. 4 Bab. CCLXXXV. 8
Right	ΔYPA	Bab. CCLXXXV. 11
Right		BMC XXVI. 6

42 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
23 CLUB	Dyrrhachium	Club
	Dyrrhachium	Club (<i>Ram's</i> head terminal on cheek-piece of Athene's helmet)
	Dyrrhachium	Club. A
	Dyrrhachium	<i>Dolphin</i>
	Dyrrhachium	Club Ξ
	Syracuse	Club Λ
24 COCK	Thyrrheium	Club
	Alyzia	Cock r.
	Alyzia	Cock r. AAY (monogram)
	Ambracia	Cock r.
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i>
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i>
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i> (often off flan)

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 43

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	Δ YP <i>Dolphin</i>	BMC xxvi. 5 Bab. cclxxxv. 10
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> (Illus. as <i>Ram</i>)	Newell
Right	<i>Dolphin</i>	*Newell
Left	Σ Club	Bab. cclxxxv. 9
Right	<i>Dolphin</i>	BMC xxvi. 7 Bab. cclxxxv. 12
Right	Σ YPA	*Newell
Left		*Miller
Right	AAY	BMC xxx. 13 Bab. cclxxii. 23
Right		Ratto (1927) 1143
Right	NATΩIXAϣMA	Ravel vii. 76 BMC xxvii. 2 Bab. cclxxx. 13
Left	Cock r.	BMC iv. 5
Left	Cock, fighting, l.	*aNewell† Nav. v. 2073
Left	Cock, pecking, r.	*bMiller BMC iv. 2 Bab. ccix. 20

44 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
24 C O C K	Corinth	I
	Corinth	Cock's head r. N
	Leucas	Cock, fighting, r. Λ
25 C O R D	Leucas	
	Leucas	
26 C O R N	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	
	Argos Amph. Corn-grain	
	Corinth	
	Leontini	Corn-grain
	Leucas	
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ(Κ)
	Syracuse	[<i>Triskelis</i> Pegasos l. Corn-ear]

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Cock 1. on <i>Club</i>	*cMiller BMC x. 21 Bab. CCXIV. 14
Right		*dCammann BMC XI. 10 Bab. CCXIII. 18
Right		BMC xxxv. 26 Bab. CCLXXVI. 8
Left	Cord, endless knot	*aBMC xxxvi. 12
Left	Cord (?) twisted 2 loops. Λ	*bNewell
Left	Corn-ear, large, up	Ravel xvi. 184
Left	Corn-ear, upright	Ravel xvii. 191 *BMC xxix. 15
Left	Corn-ear, horizontal	Ravel xvii. 192
Right	ΑΠΕΙΩΝ	BMC xxxiii. 3
Left	N in wreath of corn	*Miller BMC xi. 4 Bab. CCXIII. 12
Right	ΑΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ	BMC xxv. 1
Right	Corn-grain. Λ	*aNewell
Left	Corn-grain.	*bNewell BMC xxv. 7

46 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

		<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
27	CORNUCOPIA	Corinth	A – P
28	COW (²)	Corinth	ΔI
29	CRAB	Ambracia	
		Ambracia	Crab
30	CRANE	Ambracia	A
31	CRAYFISH	Astacus	Crayfish (ἄστακός)
32	CRESCENT	Corinth	
		Corinth	Crescent ☾
		Corinth	
		Corinth	
		Leucas	
		Leucas	

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Cornucopia w. 2 wheat ears	*Miller BMC XII. 7 Bab. CCXIII. 30
Left	Cow, suckling calf	*BMC XII. 17
Left	Crab	*Newell Ravel II. 24
Right		Ravel VI. 68 BMC XXVIII. 4 Bab. CCLXXXI. 9
Right	Crane 1.	*Newell Ravel V. 58 BMC XXXIX. 4
Right	AΣ	*BMC XXXIII. 10 Bab. CCLXXII. 3
Left	♀ Crescent	*aNewell
Right		Num. Chron. 1909 XXVI. 3
Left	E. Crescent	*bNewell
Left	AA Triskelis of crescents in circle	*cNewell Bab. CCXII. 20
Left	N. Triskelis of crescents in circle	BMC XI. 5 Bab. CCXIII. 13
Left	Crescent, large	BMC XXXVI. 11
Left	ΣΩ Crescent, large	*Newell BMC XXXVI. 23 Bab. CCLXXVI. 9

48 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
33 CUIRASS	Corinth	
	Corinth	
34 DEMETER	Corinth	A
35 DIONYSOS	Corinth	
36 DOG	Ambracia	A
	Argos. Amph.	[Pegasos, r. A. Dog. lying r.]
	Argos. Amph.	[Pegasos r. AP. Dog lying r.]
	Argos. Amph.	[Pegasos l. Dog's head l.]
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
37 DOLPHIN	Ambracia	Dolphin, down- wards

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Cuirass with pteruges. AA	BMC ix. 20 Bab. CCXII. 19
Left	Δ Cuirass with pteruges	*Newell
Left	Y. Demeter w. torch and cornucopia	*BMC ix. 21 Bab. CCXII. 23
Left	Δ Dionysos r. w. kantharos and grapes	*Miller BMC x. 4 Bab. CCXIII. 1
Right	Dog, hound, run- ning l. (incuse square)	Ravel v. 57 *BMC xxviii. 3 Bab. CCLXXX. 11 BMC xxxiii. 2 Bab. CCLXXIX. 12 *aBMC xxxiii. 1 & 3 Bab. CCLXXIX. 10-11 *bCammann BMC xxxiii. 5 Bab. CCLXXIX. 14
Left	Δ Dog l.	*aNewell
Left	Dog, hound, seated r.	*bNewell BMC iv. 3 Bab. CCIX. 21
Right		Ravel xiv. 154

50 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
37 DOLPHIN	Ambracia	<i>Eros</i> on Dolphin r.
	Ambracia	<i>Eros</i> on Dolphin r.
	Ambracia	<i>Zeus</i> w. fulmen r. Dolphin. A
	Corinth	(Dyr?) Ξ
	Corinth	Ξ
	Corinth	Ξ
	Corinth	Dolphin, down- wards
	Corinth	Dolphin, l.
	Corinth	Dolphin, l.
	Corinth	Dolphin
	Corinth	<i>Eagle's</i> head r.
	Corinth	<i>Grapes</i> , bunch 2 leaves
	Corinth	Dolphin, down, l. <i>Ivy</i> branch

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 51

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	(A on helmet) (Illus. as <i>Eros</i>)	Ravel XI. 128
Right	A below Athene	Ravel XIV. 150 BMC XXVIII. 10 Bab. CCLXXXI. 16
Right		Ravel XIII. 140
Right	Dolphin	Bab. CCXI. 7
Right	Dolphin r.	BMC VIII. 7
Right	Dolphin r. ♀	Ratto (1927) 1487
Left	Σ	BMC VIII. 6 Bab. CCXI. 27
Left	<i>Cock</i> r.	BMC IV. 5
Left	<i>Cock</i> , fighting, l. (Illus. as <i>Cock</i>)	Newell
Left	<i>Cock</i> , pecking r. (Illus. as <i>Cock</i>)	Miller
Right	Dolphin, down, r.	Ravel XIXa. BMC IV. 10
Right	Dolphin, down, r.	Ravel XIXb. BMC IV. 11
Left	<i>Thymiaterion</i> (Illus. as Ivy and Thym.)	BMC IV. 12

52 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
37 DOLPHIN	Corinth	<i>Nike</i> , flying w. tainia r.
	Corinth	<i>Palmette</i> , l.
	Corinth	<i>Palmette</i> , r.
	Corinth	Dolphin l.
	Corinth	Dolphin l.
	Corinth	<i>Poseidon</i> , w. tri- dent and dolphin r.
	Corinth	<i>Poseidon</i> , w. staff, tainia and dolphin r.
	Corinth	<i>Poseidon</i>
	Corinth	Dolphin, down ΕΥΞ
	Corinth	Dolphin
	Corinth	3 Dolphins encircling Athene
	Corinth	4 Dolphins. I. encircling Athene

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 53

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Λ. Dolphin, down	BMC XI. I Bab. CCXIII. II
Right	Dolphin r.	BMC IV. 8
Right	Dolphin down	Bab. CCRX. 22
Left	<i>Palmette</i>	*aNewell BMC IV. 9 Bab. CCX. 7
Left	<i>Pistrix</i> head l.	BMC IV. 6
Right	Dolphin, down, r.	Ravel XIX. f BMC IV. 13 Bab. CCX. 8
Right	Dolphin, small, r.	BMC IV. 17
Right	Dolphin	Bab. CCX. 2 Nav. v. 2078
Left	<i>Rose</i> on stem	BMC VII. 7 Bab. CCXI. 17
Right	Dolphin	Ratto (1927) 1437 Num. Chr. 1909 XXIX. 30
Left		*bNewell
Left	Δ	BMC VIII. I

54 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
37 DOLPHIN	Corinth	5 Dolphins encircling Athene
	Dyrrhachium	<i>Club</i> Δ
	Dyrrhachium	<i>Club</i> ΔYP
	Dyrrhachium	Dolphin down l.
	Dyrrhachium	<i>Club</i> Ξ
38 DOVE	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Ambracia	Dove, flying l.
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕ . . .
	Argos	Dove, flying r.
	Amph.	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Γ

<i>Athens</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left		*cNewell BMC IV. 4 Bab. CCX. 10-11
Right	Dolphin r.	Nav. v. 2125
Right	Dolphin r. down	BMC XXVI. 5 Bab. CCLXXXV. 10
Left	Club Σ	Bab. CCLXXXV. 9
Right	Dolphin down	BMC XXVI. 7 Bab. CCLXXXV. 12
Left	"Dolphin" down r. = <i>Lizard</i> 81	BMC XXXV. 2 Bab. CCLXXIV. 27
Right		*aNewell Ravel XIII. 148 BMC XXVII. 10 Bab. CCLXXX. 20
Left	NI. Dove, flying r.	Ravel XIII. 144
Left	Dove, standing r.	*bRavel XVI. 181 BMC XXVII. 13 Bab. CCLXXXI. 1
Right	ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ	BMC XXXIII. 4 Bab. CCLXXIX. 13
Left	Dove, flying l.	Nav. v. 2082
Left	E. Dove, flying r.	Ratto (1927) 1474
Left	Dove, flying l. in <i>wreath</i>	*Miller BMC x. 2 Bab. CCXII. 26

56 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
39 EAGLE	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	Eagle, spread wings, on ram's head
	Corinth	
	Corinth	A – P
	Corinth	
40 EARRING	Corinth	Eagle's head r.
	Locri Ep.	Eagle's head r.
	Thyrrheium	⊙
	Thyrrheium	⊙
41 EROS	Thyrrheium	
	Ambracia	(A on Athene's helmet)

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 57

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Eagle	Ravel xv. 163
Left	Eagle, spread wings, serpent in beak.	*Newell† Ravel xv. 162
Right		Ravel xv. 161
Left	Eagle, r. head to l.	*aNewell
Left	Eagle, l. head to r.	*bNewell BMC XII. 8 Bab. CCXIII. 31
Left	Eagle r. EY monogram	BMC XIII. 4
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> r. down	BMC IV. 10 Ravel XIX.a
Right	ΛOK	*Newell Nav. v. 739
Left	Y. Earring	*Cammann Bab. CCLXXVIII. 21. 23
Left	Y. Earring AY	BMC XXXVIII. 7. 8 DeL. LXXIV. 1945
Left	YA. Earring	BMC XXXVIII. 9
Right	Eros, flying l.	Ravel XI. 120 BMC XXVIII. 7 Bab. CCLXXXI. 13 Bab. CCXIII. 23 classes as Corinth

58 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
41 EROS	Ambracia	Eros standing w. tainia
	Ambracia	Eros on <i>Dolphin</i> r.
	Ambracia	Eros on <i>Dolphin</i> r.
42 EYE	Leucas	
	Leucas	
43 FISH	Ambracia	Spike-fish r. (scorpena porcus)
	Corinth	Spike-fish r.
44 FLAIL	Corinth	<i>Trident</i>
	Anactorium	EΓI
	Anactorium	EΓI
45 FLOWER	Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 59

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		*aNewell Ravel vi. 64 BMC xxviii. 11 Bab. cclxxxi. 18
Right	(A on Athene's helmet)	*bNewell Ravel xi. 128
Right	A below	Ravel xiv. 150 BMC xxviii. 10 Bab. cclxxxi. 16
Left	Eye (as on Ship's prow)	*aNewell Bab. cclxxiii. 10
Left	Λ. Eye	*bNewell BMC xxxvi. 17 Bab. cclxxv. 16
Right	AM	Ravel vii. 77
Right		*Cammann† BMC iii. 20 Bab. ccix. 19
Right	Fish r.	Ratto (1927) 1432
Left	VA. Flail, straight	*aNewell
Left	ΔΩ Flail, bent	*bNewell BMC xxxii. 12 Bab. cclxxvii. 8-9
Left	Flower, conven- tional	BMC iii. 18. 19

60 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
45 FLOWER	Corinth	Flower, conven- tional
	Corinth	<i>Trident</i> X
46 FOOT	Leucas	Λ EY
47 FULMEN	Ambracia (?)	A
	Ambracia	AMΓ
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	Fulmen, ornate Olympian
	Ambracia	Olive <i>wreath</i> , enc. Athene
	Anactorium	Fulmen, large
	Argos Amph. (?)	
	Corinth	Fulmen
	Leucas (?)	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 61

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		*Miller BMC III. 6
Right	Flower? or Palmette?	BMC VIII. 3 Bab. CCXI. 24
Left	Foot	*Newell Bab. CCLXXV. 7 BMC xxxv—3 classi- fies as Hand w. Kery- keion
Left	Fulmen, decorated	BMC xxix. 13. 14 (see Ravel page 164)
Left	Fulmen, winged, Olympian	Ravel xiv. 160
Left	K. Fulmen, verti- cal, decorated	*Newell Ravel viii. 87
Right		Ravel vii. 81 Bab. CCLXXX. 12
Left	Fulmen, vertical	Ravel viii. 86. 88. 89 BMC xxix. 7 Bab. CCLXXXII. 3
Left		*Miller
Left	A. Fulmen, very ornate	*Ravel xviii. 11
Right		*Bab. ccix. 26
Left	Fulmen	BMC xxxvi. 13 (Ravel xviii. 12, 13)

62 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
47 FULMEN	Locri Ep.	Fulmen
	Locri Ep.	[Pegasos 1. Fulmen]
	Syracuse	[Pegasos 1. Fulmen]
48 GORGONEION	Ambracia	Gorgon head, lying on side, tongue out.
	Anactorium	Λ Gorgon head, facing
49 GORGOS	Ambracia	Man, facing, w. lance, and wear- ing pilos
50 GRAPES	Acarnania	
	Ambracia	(Illus. as Kylix)
	Corcyra	
	Corcyra	
	Corinth	B

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 63

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	ΛΟΚΡΩΝ	Pozzi Sale. 1730 *Newell BMC xxiv. 4. 6 *Newell
Right	(A on neckguard of Athene's helmet)	*Newell† Ravel xi. 119
Right	E(Γ)I encircling Athene	*Newell BMC xxxi. 11 Bab. cclxxvii. 7
Right	ΓΟΡΓΟΣ (A on Athene's helmet)	*Ravel xi. 127 Bab. cclxxx. 3
Left	Vine branch w. grapes	*Newell BMC xxx. 5. 6
Left	Grapes. <i>Kylix</i> below	Ravel xvi. 173 BMC xxviii. 16 Bab. cclxxxi. 21
Right	*Vine spray, leaf no grapes	BMC xxx. 2 Bab. cclxxv. 20 (Bab classes as Leucas)
Right	Vine spray, large leaf, no grapes	BMC xxx. 3
Left	Grapes	BMC xiii. 1

64 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
50 GRAPES	Corinth	Grapes
	Corinth	Δ
	Leucas	
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Grapes w. tendrils
	Leucas	Σ
	Leucas	Σ
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Λ
	Leucas	Grape-leaf, large
	Leucas	Grape-leaf. Λ
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ •
	Leucas	(Illus. as amphora)
	Leucas	Vine w. grapes over <i>Amphora</i> . Α

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 65

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> , above	BMC iv. 11 Ravel xix.b
Left	<i>Wreath</i> of vine leaves	BMC x. 8 Ratto. (1927) 1463
Left	Grapes, w. leaf	BMC xxxiv. 9
Left	Grapes	BMC xxxiv. 13 Bab. cclxxiv. 18
Right	Σ	BMC xxxv. 14
Left	Grapes, large. 2 leaves	*aMiller BMC xxxv. 15
Left	Grapes, leaf (?)	BMC xxxv. 16 Bab. cclxxiii. 13
Left	IQ Grapes	BMC xxxvi. 22
Left	Grapes, leaf	Bab. cclxxiv. 22 Nav. v. 2159
Right		*bNewell
Right		H. Weber. 3859
Left	Vine w. grapes and leaves	*cEgger (1908) 518 *dMiller BMC xxxv. 10 Bab. cclxxv. 5
Left	A. Vine w. grapes over <i>Amphora</i>	BMC xxxvi. 16 Bab. cclxxv. 14
Right		BMC xxxvi. 15 Bab. cclxxv. 13. 15

66 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

		<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
50	GRAPES	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
51	GRASSHOPPER	Ambracia	Grasshopper
		Leucas	Grasshopper Λ.
52	GRIFFIN	Leucas	
		Thyrrheium	⊙YPP
53	HAND	Corinth	
		Corinth	Hand, holding <i>Torch</i> 1. (Illus. as Torch)
		Leucas	ΛΕΥ
54	HARPA	Corinth	
55	HEAD WITH CAP	Leucas	(Illus. has coun- termark of Trident)
56	HELIOS	Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 67

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Grapes? (see Silenos 115) <i>Kantharos</i>	BMC xxxv. 11 Bab. cclxxv. 4
Right	(A on Athene's helmet)	Ravel viii. 92
Right		*Newell
Left	Griffin, forep. 1.	*Miller BMC xxxvi. 6 Bab. cclxxv. 12
Left	Griffin, forep. 1. forming rhyton	*Newell† BMC xxxviii. 3. 4 Bab. cclxxviii. 20
Left	Hand, open r.	*Ratto (1912) 776
Right	<i>Bucranium</i> (often off flan)	BMC iii. 17 Bab. ccix. 18
Left	Hand, holding <i>Kerykeion</i> , 1.	*Newell
Left	A. Harpa	*Newell BMC ix. 6 Bab. ccxii. 7
Left	Δ Head w. Phrygian cap. 1.	*Newell† BMC xxxv. 20 Bab. cclxxv. 18
Left	Δ Helios, head of: facing, radiate	*Miller BMC x. 6 Bab. ccxiii. 3

68 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
57 H E L M E T	Ambracia (Epirus)	Helmet w. plumes and cheek pieces. A
	Argos Amph.	ΑΡΓΕΙ
	Corinth	A
	Corinth	Helmet, Corinthian
	Corinth	Helmet, w. straps, and crest like stag. NI
	Corinth	Helmet, conical, w. straps and ring
	Corinth	A – P
	Corinth	KA (monogram)
	Leucas	
	Leucas	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 69

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		*Newell BMC xxix. 12
Left	Helmet, Corinthian, w. crest	*Cammann BMC xxxiii. 5. 6 Bab. cclxxix. 14. 15
Left	Helmet, Thessalian	*aNewell BMC ix. 4 Bab. ccxii. 5
Right	(Bab. classes as Argos Amph.)	*bSoth. W. & H. (1920) 42 Bab. cclxxix. 16
Right		BMC xi. 13 Bab. ccxiii. 20
Right		*cNewell
Left	Helmet, Corinthian l.	Bab. ccxiii. 32
Left	Helmet, crested, cheek pieces	BMC xiii. 5
Left	Tl. Helmet, Macedonian, crested, w. wreath	*Newell BMC xxxvi. 24 Ratto (1927) 1198
Left	ΓE. Helmet, Macedonian, crested	BMC xxxvi. 25

70 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
58 HERAKLES	Ambracia	A
	Corinth	Herakles? l. w. long club
	Corinth	(see Zeus 138)
	Corinth	(see Archer 10)
59 HERMES	Leucas	Hermes r. w. kerykion, fasten- ing sandal. Λ
	Leucas	Hermes r. fasten- ing winged sandal
60 HIPPOCAMP	Corinth	
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Hippocamp l. (Λ)
61 Hook ⁽³⁾	Echinus (?)	Hook. E
	Leucas	
	Leucas	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 71

<i>Athena</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Herakles, infant, strangling serpents	*Newell Ravel XII. 136 BMC XXVIII. 13 Bab. CCLXXXI. 5
Right	(see Poseidon 99)	Bab. CCX. 3
Left	Herakles ? r.	Bab. CCX. 4
Left	Herakles r. w. bow and lion skin. TI.	*Bab. CCXI. 30 DeL. LXXXIII. 2187
Right		*aCammann BMC XXXV. 21 Bab. CCLXXVI. 4
Right		*bMiller
Left	Hippocamp l.	*Newell
Left	Λ Hippocamp r.	*aNewell† Bab. CCLXXV. 19
Right		*bMiller BMC XXXVI. 1 Bab. CCIX. 28 (classes as ♀)
Right		*Cammann BMC XXXIII. 12
Left	EY. Hook l.	*aNewell Bab. CCLXXV. 21
Left	EY. Hook r.	BMC XXXVI. 21

72 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
61 HOOK (3)	Leucas	Hook, orna- mented
	Leucas	Ξ Λ. Hook
62 HORSE	Corinth	
	Corinth	Horse, forep. 1.
	Corinth	Horse, head 1.
	Leucas	
	Uncertain	Horse, forep. 1.
63 HYDRIA	Corinth	Hydria. N
64 IONIC CAPITAL	Corinth	
65 IVY	Ambracia	Ivy spray, 3 berries, 2 leaves
	Ambracia	Ivy leaf
	Ambracia	A

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 73

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙ	BMC xxxv. 12 Bab. cclxxvi. 1
Right		*bMiller
Left	Horse, forep. r.	BMC III. 4 Bab. ccix. 7
Right		*aMiller BMC III. 5 Bab. ccix. 8 Bab. ccx. 14
Right		*bNewell
Left	Horse, head and neck l.	BMC xxxvi. 7 Bab. cclxxv. 17
Right		*Cammann
Right		*Cammann BMC xi. 9 Bab. ccxiii. 19 (classifies as onion)
Left	Ionic capital	*Bab. ccix. 25
Right		*aCammann Ravel i. 8 BMC xxvii. 1
Right		Ravel III. 33
Right	Ivy leaf	Ravel v. 55

74 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
65 Ivy	Ambracia	A
	Anactorium	Ivy leaf
	Anactorium	[Pegasos r. ivy leaf]
	Corinth	Ivy leaf
	Corinth	A – P
	Corinth	Ivy spray, 3 berries, 2 leaves
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin.</i> (Also illus. as Thym.)
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i>
	Corinth	
	Leucas	Ivy leaf
	Leucas	
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Leucas	<i>Olive twig.</i> ΛΕΥ
	Leucas	Λ-E-Y separated by 3 ivy leaves, encircling Athene

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 75

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	Ivy wreath w. berries, enc. Athene	*bNewell Ravel VII. 75
Right	ANAK	*aNewell *bHirsch XIII. 2361 Imhoof Blumer. Akar. II. 20
Right		*aCammann Bab. CCIX. 24
Left	Ivy leaf	*bNewell BMC XII. 2
Right	(Bab. classes as Phytia.)	*cNewell Bab. CCLXXII. 5
Left	Ivy branch <i>Thymiaterion</i>	*dMiller BMC IV. 12
Left	Ivy leaf <i>Thymiaterion</i>	*eNewell
Left	Δ Ivy wreath	BMC x. 7
Right		BMC XXXIV. 2
Left	Ivy leaf	BMC XXXIV. 14
Left	Ivy leaf	BMC XXXV. 9
Left	Ivy leaf	Bab. CCLXXV. 2
Left		*aNewell BMC XXXV. 8 Bab. CCLXXV. 8

76 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
65 I V Y	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Leucas	
66 K A N T H A R O S	Ambracia	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Kantharos. N
	Leucas	Kantharos. Λ
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ (Illus. as <i>Silenos</i> see Note 7)
67 K E R Y K E I O N	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	Kerykeion
	Ambracia	Kerykeion
	Ambracia	Kerykeion. A

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 77

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Ivy spray, 3 leaves, 2 berries	*bNewell
Left	Ivy wreath, small	*cNewell BMC xxxvi. 9
Left	Kantharos	Ravel III. 27 BMC xxviii. 15 Bab. cclxxxi. 11
Left	N. Kantharos	BMC xi. 6 Bab. ccxiii. 14
Right		*Miller
Right		*aNewell BMC xxxv. 13 Bab. cclxxiii. 18
Left	Kantharos	*bMiller
Left	<i>Silenos</i> head, profile r. Kantharos	Newell BMC xxv. 11 Bab. cclxxv. 4
Left	Kerykeion	Ravel II. 16
Left	Kerykeion	*aNewell Ravel II. 18
Right		Ravel IV. 42
Right	A. (wreath on Athene's helmet)	Ravel IV. 44 BMC xxix. 4 Bab. cclxxxii. 8
Right		Ravel IV. 46

78 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
67	KERYKEION	
	Ambracia	Kerykeion, short
	Ambracia	A
	Leucas	
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Kerykeion, long
	Leucas	Kerykeion Λ
	Leucas	ΛEY
	Leucas	<i>Shield</i> , Boeotian. Kerykeion
	Leucas	(<i>Illus. as Hand</i>) ΛEY
	Leucas	<i>Term</i> and Kerykeion. Λ
	Locri Ep.	
	Uncertain	
	Uncertain	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 79

<i>Athena</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	A	Ravel v. 49
Left	Kerykeion in wreath of pellets	*bSyracuse Museum Ravel iv. 38
Left	Λ. Kerykeion, ornate handle	*aNewell BMC xxxv. 17
Left	Λ. Kerykeion	Bab. CCLXXV. 9
Right		*bCammann
Right		BMC xxxv. 18 Bab. CCLXXV. 10
Left	<i>Shield</i> , Boeotian. Kerykeion	BMC xxxv. 4
Left	ΛΕΥ	BMC xxxv. 5
Left	<i>Hand</i> w. kerykeion	Newell BMC xxxv. 3 = foot. (error)
Right	(Illus. as <i>Term</i>)	Ward xi. 465 BMC xxxv. 22 Bab. CCLXXVI. 5
	[Pegasos l. Kerykeion l.]	*Newell BMC xxiv. 5 Ratto (1927) 313
	[Pegasos l. Kerykeion l.]	BMC xxxix. 2
	[Pegasos r. Kerykeion r.]	*Newell

80 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
68 KEY	Anactorium	
	Anactorium	
69 KITHARA	Ambracia	ΑΜΓΡΑΚΙΩΤΑΝ
	Anactorium	ΑΚΤΙΟ (wreath on Athene's helmet)
	Anactorium	(wreath on Athene's helmet)
	Anactorium	
	Anactorium	Kithara
	Apollonia	Kithara (chelys)
	Apollonia	Kithara (chelys)
	Rhegium	PH (monogram)
	Uncertain	
70 KOTTABOS PLAYER	Ambracia	ΑΜΒΡΑΚΙΩΤΑΝ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 81

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	VA Temple-key w. tainia	BMC xxxi. 19
Left	A Temple-key w. tainia	*Cammann
Left	Kithara (chelys)	*Newell Ravel ix. 105 BMC xxvii. 7 Bab. cclxxx. 18
Left	Kithara	BMC xxxi. 4 Bab. cclxxvii. 19 Bab. cclxxviii. 13
Left	Kithara	*Newell† BMC xxxi. 16 Bab. cclxxviii. 9
Left	A Kithara	BMC xxxi. 17 Bab. cclxxviii. 10
Right	Olive twig	*Egger (1906) 353
Right	AΓΟΛ	*aBMC xxvi. 1 Bab. cclxxxv. 2
Right	AΓΟ	*bCammann
Left	Kithara	BMC xxiv. 12
Right	Kithara (chelys)	Ravel xvii. 190
Left	Kottabos player, girl, l.	*Newell Ravel x. 115 BMC xxvii. 4 Bab. cclxxx. 14

82 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
71 KRATER	Corinth	
72 KYATHOS	Leucas Leucas	Kyathos. Λ
73 KYLIX	Ambracia Ambracia	
74 LAUREL	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	Laurel wreath enc. Athene.
	Ambracia	Laurel wreath enc. Athene.
	Anactorium	Laurel leaf up Λ
	Anactorium	Laurel leaf, up
	Anactorium	Laurel leaf, up
	Leucas	Laurel twig upper corner

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 83

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Δ Krater	*Miller BMC x. 5 Bab. CCXIII. 2
Left	Kyathos	BMC xxxvi. 4
Right		*Newell BMC xxxvi. 3 Bab. CCLXXVI. 2
Left	Kylix	Ravel xv. 172
Left	Kylix. <i>Grapes</i>	*Newell Ravel xvi. 174 BMC xxviii. 16 Bab. CCLXXXI. 21
Right	Laurel leaf? (grain of corn)	Ravel III. 32
Left		Ravel VIII. 84
Left	<i>Fulmen</i> (A on Athene's helmet)	Ravel VIII. 86 BMC xxix. 7 (classifies as olive)
Right		*Newell
Right	ΑΝΑΚΤΟΠΙΕΩΝ	BMC xxxi. 14
Right	ΑΝΑΚΤ (wreath on Athene's helmet)	BMC xxxi. 15 Bab. CCLXXVII. 14
Left	Laurel twig lower corner	*Newell

84 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
75 LEOPARD	Corinth	
76 LILY	Leucas	Lily, w. butterfly on pistil. Λ
77 LION	Ambracia	Lion's head r. tongue out
	Ambracia	Lion's head r. tongue out
	Corinth	<i>Zeus</i> 1.
	Leucas	Lion's head r. Λ
	Leucas	Lion, forep. r. Λ
	Uncertain	Lion's Scalp, facing
78 LITUUS	Corinth	
	Corinth	Lituus
79 LIZARD	Leucas	ΛΕΥ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 85

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Leopard (or lioness?)	*Newell
Right		*BMC xxxvi. 2 Bab. cclxxvi. 3
Right	AMΓ	*Ravel vii. 78 Bab. cclxxxI. 4
Right	AM. <i>Locust</i>	Ravel vii. 80 Cat. de Sartiges. 298
Right	Lion's head r. tongue out	Bab. ccx. I DeL. lxxxiii. 2184
Right		*aCammann BMC xxxv. 24 Bab. cclxxvi. 7
Right		*bNewell BMC xxxv. 23 Bab. cclxxvi. 6 DeL. lxxiii. 1937
Right		*BMC xxxix. I
Left	Lituus	*aNewell BMC iii. 12
Right		*bCammann BMC iii. 13 Bab. ccix. 14
Left	Lizard, up (BMC & Bab. clas- sify as Dolphin)	*Miller BMC xxxv. 2 Bab. cclxxiv. 27

86 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
80 LOBSTER	Leucas	Lobster
81 LOCUST	Ambracia	(A on Athene's helmet)
	Ambracia	Locust, female r.
	Ambracia	<i>Lion's</i> head r.
82 MAN	Ambracia	<i>Swan?</i> Δ?
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
83 MOUSE (4)	Anactorium	Mouse, r. <i>Α</i> (tail off flan)
84 NIKE(5)	Ambracia	A
	Anactorium	Nike r. w. tainia <i>Α</i>
	Corinth	
	Corinth	ΕΒ
	Corinth	Nike r. with thymiaterion

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 87

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		*Bab. CCLXXIII. 14
Right	Locust 1.	*Ravel XI. 118 BMC XXVIII. 6 Bab. CCLXXXI. 12
Right		Ravel XVI. 182
Right	AM. Locust	Ravel VII. 80 Cat. de Sartiges 298
Left	Man (Ambrax) wearing pilos, holding staff, seated on rocks, 1.	*Newell Ravel XII. 135 BMC XXVIII. 14 Bab. CCLXXXI. 6
Left	Man with staff r.	Bab. CCX. 15
Left	Man standing r.	*Newell
Right		*Hirsch XIII. 2361
Right	Nike, flying 1. placing tainia on Athene's helmet	*Ravel IV. 40
Right	ΛΩΤΟ	*BMC XXXI. 9 Bab. CCLXXVII. 5
Right	Nike 1. with thymiaterion EP	*aMiller BMC VI. 11
Left	Nike 1. with thymiaterion	Ratto (1927) 1477
Right	EP	BMC VI. 10 Bab. CCXI. 10

88 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
84 NIKE	Corinth	Nike r. with thymiaterion
	Corinth	I
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Nike r. w. tainia
	Leucas	
85 OBELISK	Ambracia	Obelisk
	Ambracia	Obelisk w. fillet l.
	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	Obelisk w. fillet r. to l.
	Ambracia	
86 OENOCHÖE	Corinth	

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	☶	*bCammann†
Left	Nike l. w. tainia	*cNewell† BMC x. 20 Bab. CCXIV. 13
Right	☶ Nike l. w. tainia	BMC XIII. 13
Right	☶ Nike l. w. tainia	*dNewell
Left	Λ <i>Dolphin</i> down	BMC XI. 1 Bab. CCXIII. 11
Left	Nike l. crowning Λ	*Newell† BMC XXXV. 19 Bab. CCLXXV. 11
Right	A	*aNewell Ravel IV. 43
Right		Ravel XVI. 177 Bab. CCLXXXII. 2
Right	Obelisk w. fillet r. to l.	*bNewell Ravel XVI. 179 Bab. CCLXXXII. 1
Right		Ravel XVI. 180 BMC XXIX. 6
Left	Obelisk w. fillet r.	Ravel XVII. 185
Left	Oenochœ	BMC v. 3

90 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
86 OENOCHÖE	Leucas	
	Thyrrheium	OΛ
87 OLIVE	Ambracia	Olive wreath enc. Athene
	Anactorium	<i>Kithara</i> (Illus. as Kithara)
	Leucas	ΛEY
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Olive twig, 4 leaves, lower corner
	Leucas	Olive twig. ΛEY
88 OMPHALOS	Anactorium	
89 OWL	Ambracia	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 91

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Oenochöe, squat	*Newell Bab. CCLXXIII. 15
Left	⊙Y Oenochöe, tall	*Newell Bab. CCLXXIX. 1
Left	<i>Fulmen</i>	Ravel VIII. 86 (Classifies as Laurel) BMC XXIX. 7
Right	Olive twig	Egger (1906) 353
Left	Olive twig, large, 3 leaves	*aMiller Bab. CCLXXV. 3
Right	Olive twig, 2 leaves, upper corner. Olive twig, 2 leaves, lower corner.	*bNewell
Left	A. Olive twig, 4 leaves, lower corner	*cBMC XXXIV. 12 Bab. CCLXXIII. 17
Left	<i>Ivy</i> leaf	Bab. CCLXXV. 2
Left	Λ Omphalos w. net work of fillets	*Cammann BMC XXXII. 6 Bab. CCLXXVII. 18
Left	Owl, facing	*aNewell Ravel VI. 65

92 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
89 OWL	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	Owl, large, r.
	Corinth	
	Corinth	I
	Corinth	Owl, double body
	Corinth	Owls, twins
	Syracuse	Owl, small
90 PALM	Anactorium	Palm branch
	Anactorium	
	Anactorium	Palm branch A.
	Anactorium	
91 PALMETTE	Ambracia (?)	A
	Ambracia (?)	Palmette, small

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 93

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Owl, l.	Ravel vi. 70 Ravel vii. 71 BMC xxvii. 11
Right		*bNewell Ravel vi. 69 BMC xxvii. 12
Left	Owl, r.	BMC v. 6
Left	Owl, r.	*aNewell Bab. ccxiv. 17
Right	⊙YΞ	*bMiller BMC vii. 8-9 Bab. ccxi. 18
Right	EY⊙	*cNewell
Right		BMC xxv. 10
Right		*aCammann
Left	A' Palm branch	*bNewell BMC xxxi. 18
Right		Ratto (1927) 1145
Left	Palm tree, large	*cNewell BMC xxxi. 20 Bab. cclxxviii. 8
Left	Palmette	Ravel xvii. 186
Right	A	*Newell Ravel xvii. 187 Bab. cclxxxi. 22

94 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
91 PALMETTE	Corinth	
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i> l. down
	Corinth	Palmette
	Leucas	ΛEY
	Leucas	
92 PAN	Ambracia <i>not</i> Anactorium	Pan r., w. branch $\Sigma (=M)$ (small A=Artist's signature)
	Ambracia	MA
	Ambracia	A
93 PELLET	Corinth	<i>Chimacra</i> , forep. r. Pellet $\exists K$
	Leucas	Pellet, upper corner. Pellet, lower corner
	Syracuse	Pellet

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Palmette	*aNewell *bNewell BMC iv. 7 Bab. CCIX. 23
Left	Palmette	Bab. CCXI. 2
Left	Palmette	BMC iv. 9 Ravel XIX. e
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> r. down	BMC iv. 8 Bab. CCIX. 22
Left	Palmette and tendrils	*Miller BMC xxxv. 7
Left	Palmette	Bab. CCLXXIV. 19
Right	A (HA below Athene)	*aCammann† Ravel ix. 94 BMC xxxi. i Bab. CCLXXVII. 21
Right	Pan, head, profile 1.	*bNewell Ravel ix. 95
Right	Pan, head, profile 1.	Ravel ix. 96
Right	(Illus. as Chimaera)	Newell Nav. v. 2083
Left	Λ Pellet, upper corner. Pellet, lower corner	*Newell
Right	ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ	BMC xxv. 4

96 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
93 PELLE	Syracuse	Pellet
	Uncertain	Pellet
94 PHIALE	Corinth	
	Leucas	Λ
95 PINE-CONE	Corinth	
96 PISTRIX	Corinth	<i>Dolphin 1.</i>
97 PLOUGH	Corinth	A – P
98 POPPY	Corinth	
99 POSEIDON	Corinth	Poseidon r. w. staff and tainia
	Corinth	Poseidon r.
	Corinth	Poseidon r. w. dolphin and trident
	Corinth	Poseidon r. w. staff, tainia, dolphin

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 97

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		DeL. XLVIII. 1279
Right		*Cammann
Left	ΔI Phiale, ornate	*Miller Bab. CCXIII. 4
Left	Phiale	*Newell BMC XXXIV. 7 Bab. CCLXXIII. 11
Left	ΔI Pine-cone	*Miller Bab. CCXIV. 9. 9 bis
Left	Pistrix head and neck 1.	*Newell BMC IV. 6 (classifies as Griffin)
Left	Plough	*Newell BMC XII. 3 Bab. CCXIII. 25
Left	E. Poppy head	*BMC VI. 7. 8
Right		*aMiller
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> r.	Bab. CCX. 2 Nav. v. 2078
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> r.	*bBMC IV. 13 Bab. CCX. 8
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> r.	BMC IV. 17

98 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
99 POSEIDON	Corinth	Poseidon l. w. staff and tainia
	Corinth	YΞ Poseidon l. w. staff and tainia
	Corinth	
100 PROW	Ambracia	Prow r.
	Corinth	Prow r. N
101 PUDENDA VIRILIA	Alyzia	Pudenda vir.
	Corinth	Pudenda vir.
102 PURSE	Anactorium	VA Purse(?) or long bag with funnel
103 RAM (6)	Ambracia	<i>Eagle</i> on Ram's head r.
	Dyrrhachium	<i>Club</i>

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		BMC IV. 16 Bab. CCX. 3
Right		*cNewell BMC VII. 1 Bab. CCXI. 12
Left	Poseidon r. w. dolphin	*dNewell†
Right	A	*Newell Ravel x. 113 BMC XXIX. 1 Bab. CCLXXXI. 20
Right		*Miller Bab. CCXIII. 17
Right	ΑΛΥΞΑΙΩΝ	*Newell BMC XXX. 12 Bab. CCLXXIII. 2
Right	⊙ΥΞ	*Newell
Right		*BMC XXXI. 12 Bab. CCLXXVII. 10
Right		*Ravel xv. 161
Right	(Ram's head termi- nal on cheek-piece of Athene's helmet)	*aNewell

100 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
103 R A M (6)	Dyrrhachium	<i>Club</i> Δ
	Leucas	Ram's head r. Δ
104 R O S E	Ambracia	[Pegasos l. A Rosebud]
	Corinth	Rose on stem
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Rose
	Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i> ♂ Y Ξ
105 S A T Y R	Ambracia	A
106 S E A T	Leucas	
107 S E P I A	Argos Amph.	ΑΡΓΕΙ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 101

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> (Ram's head terminal on cheek-piece of Athene's helmet)	* ^b Newell†
Right		*Newell BMC xxxv. 25
	(also see Serpent)	*BMC xxvii. 14
Right		* ^a Newell BMC iii. 7 Bab. ccix. 12 Bab. ccx. 9
Left	E Rose	* ^b Cammann BMC vi. 5 Bab. ccxi. 5
Left	<i>Dolphin</i>	* ^c Newell
Left	Rose	BMC vii. 7 Bab. ccxi. 17
Right	Satyr 1. dancing	*Newell Ravel vi. 62 BMC xxviii. 8 Bab. cclxxxi. 14
Left	Seat (diphros) w. cushion	*Newell BMC xxxvi. 10
Left	Sepia	BMC xxxiii. 7 Bab. cclxxix. 17

102 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
107 S E P I A	Argos	ΑΡΓΕΙΩ
	Amph.	
	Leucas	ΛΕΥ
	Uncertain	Sepia
108 S E R P E N T	Ambracia	[Pegasos l. A. Serpent coiled round Tortoise]
	Ambracia	A. Serpent coiled round Tortoise (classified as <i>Swan</i> by BMC and Bab.)
	Ambracia	Serpent, coiled, raising head l.
	Leucas	Serpent, coiled raising head, r. Λ
109 S H E L L	Anactorium	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	[♀ Pegasos l. shell, murex]
	Leucas	Λ – E – Y

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 103

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Sepia	Bab. CCLXXIX. 18
Left	Sepia	*Miller BMC xxxv. 1 Bab. CCLXXV. 6
Right	Δ	*Newell BMC xxxix. 7
	(Also see Rosebud 104)	*aNewell Ravel I. 12 Bab. CCLXXX. 6
Left	<i>Man</i> , seated on rocks 1. (Illus. as <i>Man</i> 82 and <i>Swan</i> 119)	Ravel XII. 135
Right		*bNewell Ravel XIV. 151
Right		*Miller
Left	Shell, scallop	*Newell BMC xxxi. 21
Left	⚱ Shell, scallop	BMC vi. 1 *Egger (1908) 450
Left	Shell, scallop	BMC xxxiv. 10

104 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
109 S H E L L	Leucas	ΛEY
110 S H I E L D	Argos Amph.	
	Argos Amph.	ΔI
	Argos Amph.	AP
	Argos Amph.	
	Corinth	A
	Coronta	
	Leucas	ΛEY
	Leucas	ΛEY
	Leucas	Shield, Boeotian <i>Kerykeion</i>
	Leucas	(Illus. on p. 11)



OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 105

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Shell, murex	*Newell BMC xxxiv. 20
Left	A. Shield	Ravel xviii. 7
Left	AP. Shield w. strap	*Cammann Ravel xviii. 6
Left	ΔI. Shield w. strap	Ravel xviii. 5 Nav. v. 2150
Left	ΔI. Shield	BMC xxxiii. 8
Left	Shield round, orn. w. trident	*Miller BMC ix. 1 Bab. ccxii. 2
Left	K. Shield, Macedonian, orn. w. fulmen	*BMC xxxiii. 11
Left	Shield, Boeotian	*aNewell Ratto (1927) 1177
Left	Shield, Boeotian <i>Kerykeion</i>	BMC xxxv. 4 Bab. cclxxiv. 26 Ratto (1927) 1176
Left		BMC xxxv. 5
Left	Shield, round, orn. w. race-torch, lighted	*bCammann

106 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
110 S H I E L D	Metropolis	
	Thyrrheium	⊙
111 S H R I M P	Ambracia	Shrimp
	Anactorium	Shrimp
112 S I L E N O S (7)	Corinth	A – Λ
	Leucas	(see Grapes 50)
113 S P E A R	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	(Athene's helmet crested)
	Ambracia	(A. on neckguard of Athene's helmet). Δ under chin. A
	Ambracia	
	Ambracia	ΑΜΠΡΑ

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 107

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	 Shield, orn. w. Athene Promachos	*Newell BMC xxxviii. 1
Left	Y. Shield, Boeotian	*Miller BMC xxxviii. 11-13 Bab. cclxxix. 3
Right	(Bab. classes as Leucas, Lobster 80)	Ravel xiv. 158 Bab. cclxxiii. 14
Right	ΕΓΙ	*BMC xxxi. 10
Left	Silenos, mask facing	*aCammann† BMC ix. 19 Bab. ccxii. 18
Left	Silenos head, profile r. <i>Kantharos</i>	*bNewell† BMC xxxv. 11 Bab. cclxxv. 4
Left	Spear, up	Ravel xv. 164 Bab. cclxxx. 9
Left	Spear, up	*aNewell Ravel xv. 169
Left	 Spear head	Ravel viii. 90. 91
Left	Spear head	Ravel xv. 167 BMC xxix. 3
Left	Spear head	*bNewell Ravel xvi. 183 BMC xxvii. 8

108 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
113 S P E A R	Argos	AM
	Amph.	
	Argos	AMΦI
	Amph.	
	Argos	AMΦIΔ
	Amph.	
	Argos	AMΦIΔOXΩN
	Amph.	
	Argos	AM
	Amph.	
	Argos	AM
	Amph.	
114 S T A G	Corinth	
115 S T A R	Corinth	I
	Leucas	
	Leucas	Star, 5 points (Pentalpha)
	Syracuse	[Star, 8 rays Pegasos 1.]
116 S T O R K	Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 109

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	ABP. Spear, down	*aCammann
Left	ABP. Spear, down	BMC xxxiii. 9 Ratto (1927) 1164
Left	ABP. Spear, down	DeL. lxxiii. 1930-1 Nav. v. 2151
Left	Spear head	*bCammann
Left	Spear head	Ravel xviii. 3
Left	A. Spear head, up.	Ravel xviii. 4
Left	Stag's head w. antlers	*Newell
Left	Star, 8 rays	*Newell BMC x. 22 Bab. ccxiv. 15
Left	Star, 8 rays (long, slender)	*aNewell
Right		*bCammann BMC xxxvi. 5 BMC xxv. 10
Left	Stork, r. (frog in beak?)	*aNewell† BMC iii. 3

112 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
122 TAINIA	Anactorium	NAY AΓ in monogram (See Eros 41 and Nike 84)
123 TERM	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Term, facing. N
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	(Large wreath of oak leaves on Athene's helmet)
	Corinth	
	Corinth	B
	Corinth	A
	Leucas	Term, bearded, r. on 3 steps, kerykeion at r. Λ
124 THISTLE	Ambracia	Thistle, branch w. flower, up
	Ambracia <i>not</i> Anactorium	Thistle, branch, up Ξ (=M)

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 113

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Α. Tainia, hanging from ring. (Ravel classifies as Thym.)	*Newell BMC xxxii. 11 Ravel xix. 6
Left	Term, draped, facing w. palm	BMC v. 4 DeL. lxxxiv. 2207
Left	N. Term, facing	*aNewell
Right		Bab. ccxiii. 16
Left	I. Term, draped, facing w. kerykeion and cornucopia	*bNewell† BMC xii. 27 Bab. ccxiv. 8
Left	□ Term bearded, 1.	DeL. lxxxiv. 2208
Right	⌘ Term, 1.	BMC xiii. 6
Left	⌘ Term, 1.	BMC xiii. 7 & 8.
Left	⌘ Term, bearded, 1.	BMC xiii. 14
Right		*Ward xi. 465 BMC xxxv. 22 Bab. cclxxvi. 5
Right		*aRavel xvi. 176 BMC xxix. 10 Bab. cclxxxii. 5
Right	(AH. below Athene) Α	*bNewell Ravel viii. 93 BMC xxxi. 3 Bab. cclxxviii. 1

114 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

		<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
125	THYMIA- TERION	Ambracia	Thymiaterion
		Anactorium	ΛΥΣΙ
		Anactorium	
		Anactorium	ΛΥΣ
		Corinth	ΑΓ in monogram
		Corinth	Thymiaterion, small (or torch holder)
		Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i>
		Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i> (also illus. as <i>Ivy</i> 65)
		Corinth	<i>Dolphin</i> (Illus. as <i>Ivy</i> 65)
126	THYRSOS	Corinth	Γ
127	TORCH	Ambracia	ΑΜΠΡΑΚΙΟΤΑΝ
		Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 115

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		Ravel xv. 170 BMC xxix. 9 Bab. CCLXXXII. 4
Left	Λ Ν. Thymiaterion	*aCammann
Left	Ν. Thymiaterion	*bNewell *cNewell DeL. LXXIII. 1927
Left	Ν. Thymiaterion	BMC xxxii. 10
Right	Thymiaterion small (or torch holder)	*aNewell Bab. ccix. 16
Right		*bCammann BMC III. 15. 16 Bab. ccix. 17
Left	Thymiaterion	Ravel xix.d
Left	Thymiaterion <i>Ivy</i> branch below	*cNewell BMC iv. 12
Left	Thymiaterion <i>Ivy</i> leaf	Newell
Left	Thyrsoi, w. fillets	*aNewell *bNoe (obverse die †) BMC x. 1 Bab. ccxi. 25
Left	Torch (race) lighted, large	*Newell Ravel ix. 101
Left	Torch, small, lighted	*aNewell

116 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
127 T O R C H	Corinth	
	Corinth	<i>Hand</i> , holding Torch (race) lighted
128 T O R T O I S E	Ambracia	Tortoise and <i>Serpent</i> . See 108
	Corinth	Tortoise, l.
129 T R I D E N T	Corinth	Trident, down
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Trident, small, up
	Corinth	Trident, no handle, r.
	Corinth	Trident, ornate, up
	Corinth	Trident, ornate, up. X

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 117

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	E. Torch (race) lighted	*bCammann *cNewell BMC VI. 4 Bab. CCXI. 4
Right	<i>Bucranium</i> (often off flan)	*dBoston Museum *eMiller BMC III. 17 Bab. CCIX. 18
Right		*Bab. CCIX. 27
Right		*aNewell *bNewell BMC II. 19 Bab. CCVIII. 30. 31
Left	Trident, tines spread, ornate, down	*cGallatin† BMC II. 20 Bab. CCVIII. 32
Left		BMC III. 8 Bab. CCIX. 13
Right		*dMiller BMC III. 9
Right	AX	BMC VI. 2 Bab. CCXI. 1 Nav. v. 2091
Right		*eNewell BMC VIII. 2

118 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

		<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
129	TRIDENT	Corinth	Trident, ornate, up. K
		Corinth	Trident, up. X
		Corinth	Trident, short, up
130	TRIPOD	Syracuse	Trident, up
		Ambracia	ΑΜΓΡΑΚΙΟΤΑΝ
		Anactorium	ΑΝΑΚΤΟΠΙΩΝ
		Anactorium	
		Anactorium	
		Anactorium	
		Anactorium	Tripod. A
		Anactorium	Tripod. VA
		Anactorium	Tripod. Σ A
		Anactorium	Tripod, Σ A ANA on base.

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 119

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right	A	BMC VIII. 5 Bab. CCXI. 26
Right	Flower (?) (Palmette)	BMC VIII. 3 Bab. CCXI. 24
Right	<i>Fish</i> (Illus. as Fish)	Newell Ratto (1927) 1432
Right		*Newell
Left	Tripod	Ravel IX. 100 BMC XXVII. 6
Left	Tripod (Athene's helmet crested)	BMC XXXI. 13
Left	Λ. Tripod	*aGallatin Bab. CCLXXVII. 3 Nav. v. 2143
Left	AN (retrograde) Tripod.	BMC XXXI. 23 Bab. CCLXXVIII. 2
Left	VA. Tripod.	BMC XXXI. 24 Bab. CCLXXVIII. 3
Right		Ratto (1927) 1147
Right		Nav. v. 2144
Right		BMC XXXII. 1 Bab. CCLXXVII. 11 Ratto (1927) 1148
Right		*bNewell

120 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
130 T R I P O D	Anactorium	Tripod in wreath ANA on base
	Anactorium	Λ. Tripod in wreath
	Anactorium	
	Argos Amph.	Tripod
	Argos Amph.	Tripod
	Argos Amph.	Tripod
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Y Ξ
	Corinth	Tripod
	Corinth	Tripod
131 T R I S K E L I S	Corinth	Tripod
	Syracuse	[Pegasos 1.] Triskelis]

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 121

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		Cammann† BMC xxxii. 2
Right		BMC xxxii. 3 Bab. cclxxvii. 13
Left	Λ. Tripod in wreath	*cNewell BMC xxxii. 4 Bab. cclxxvii. 12
Right		*Newell
Right	APΓ	Bab. cclxxix. 11
Right	APΓEI	BMC xxxiii. 2 Bab. cclxxix. 12
Left	Tripod, squat	*aNewell
Left	Tripod	BMC vii. 4, 5 Bab. ccxi. 14
Right	EY	BMC vii. 2
Right	Y	BMC vii. 3 Bab. ccxi. 13
Right	EYMA	*bNewell DeL. lxxxiii. 2193 Nav. v. 2089 BMC xxv. 8-9 DeL. xlviii. 1275- 1277-1279

122 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
131 TRISKELIS	Syracuse	[Pegasos 1. Triskelis ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ]
	Syracuse	[Triskelis Pegasos 1. <i>Corn-ear</i> ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ]
132 TRITON	Corinth	(neck guard of Athene's helmet sometimes dotted). A – P
133 TROPHY	Corinth	Λ
	Syracuse	Trophy of armor
134 WARRIOR	Ambracia	A
	Ambracia	AMB (or II) ΠΑΚΙΩΤΑΝ
	Corinth	
	Corinth	

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 123

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
		*Cammann BMC xxv. 5-6 DeL. XLVIII. 1280 BMC xxv. 7
Left	Triton w. trident r.	*Newell† Bab. CCXIII. 33 DeL. LXXXII. 2177 DeL. LXXXIII. 2192
Left	A. Trophy of armor	*Newell Bab. CCX. 5 Bab. CCXII. 21
Right	(Griffin on Athene's helmet)	BMC xxv. 7 *DeL. XLVIII. 1280
Right	Warrior armed, crouching r.	*aRavel x. 117
Left	Warrior, nude, w. helmet, saluting l.	*bNewell Ravel XI. 125 BMC xxvii. 5 Bab. CCLXXX. 17
Left	Warrior (?) (Trophy)	Bab. CCX. 5
Left	N. Warrior (Ares) l. w. helmet, lance, shield, r. foot on rock	*Newell BMC XI. 7 Bab. CCXIII. 15

124 S Y M B O L S O N S T A T E R S

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
135 WHEEL	Corinth	(neck guard of Athene's helmet sometimes dotted). A – Λ
136 WOMAN	Corinth	
137 WREATH (⁹)	Anactorium	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Δ I
	Dyrr- hachium (?)	
	Leucas	Wreath, floral, enc. Athene
	Leucas	Λ E Y
	Leucas	(See also for Wreath. Corn, Dove, Grapes, Ivy, Kerykeion, Laurel, Olive, Tripod)

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 125

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Left	Wheel	*Miller BMC IX. 17 Bab. CCXII. 16
Left	Woman l. knotted hair, w. Aphlaston (Nike?)	*Newell†
Left	Λ . Wreath, Σ in center	*Newell BMC XXXII. 5 Bab. CCLXXVII. 17
Left	A. Wreath	BMC IX. 3
Left	Wreath, Δ in center	*aCammann Nav. v. 2095
Left	Δ Wreath, radiate	*bMiller
Left	Wreath	BMC XII. 18 Bab. CCXII. 4
Left	Wreath, Δ in center	BMC XXVI. 8 Bab. CCLXXXV. 13
Left	Λ	BMC XXXIV. 15 Bab. CCLXXIV. 20
Left	Wreath	BMC XXXV. 6 Bab. CCLXXV. 1
Left	Wreath w. lemniskoi A. in center	*Miller BMC XXXVI. 14 Bab. CCLXXVI. 11 Bab. CCLXXXII. 6 (classes as Ambracia)

126 SYMBOLS ON STATERS

	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Symbol on left</i>
138 ZEUS	Ambracia	Zeus, striding r. hurling fulmen
	Ambracia	A. Zeus r. w. fulmen
	Corinth	
	Corinth	
	Corinth	Zeus l. w. staff
	Corinth	Δ
	Corinth	Zeus l. w. fulmen and staff

OF CORINTHIAN TYPE 127

<i>Athene</i>	<i>Symbol on right</i>	<i>References</i>
Right		Ravel XIII. 139 *BMC XXVIII. 12 Bab. CCLXXXI. 17
Right	<i>Dolphin</i> (under Athene)	Ravel XIII. 140
Left	Zeus r. w. fulmen and staff	*aNewell† BMC IV. 14 DeL. LXXXIII. 2197
Left	Zeus r. w. fulmen	*bNewell Bab. CCX. 4
Right		*cNewell BMC IV. 15
Left	I. Zeus, seated r. w. fulmen and eagle	*dCammann† BMC XII. 19 Bab. CCXIV. 1
Right	<i>Lion's</i> head, profile r.	Bab. CCX. 1 DeL. LXXXIII. 2184 Pozzi Sale 1674

NOTES

1. BULL'S HEAD (No. 19 ϕ^a) The head, or forepart of a bull, appears frequently as a symbol on the staters of Corinth and Ambracia, but on one coin of Corinth it is represented in a very unusual and interesting way. This coin has the symbol of a bull's head, almost facing, decorated for sacrifice with fillets hanging from the horns, an exact reproduction in miniature of the typical bull's head on the coins of Euboea. The "Magistrate's initials" (so called) are EY (retrograde) and the letters are formed with ball-endings after the fashion used on Euboean coins of this period. Babelon and the BMC date the EYB series of Corinthian staters 400-350 B. C. Head's *Historia Numorum* dates the Euboean coins with this type of bull's head 378-338 B. C.

The stater referred to is in the collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 328; but it is not exhibited in the show cases. It is illustrated in the Babelon *Traité*, CCXI. 23, and there are other examples in Mr. Newell's collection and elsewhere, with differing dies.

2. COW AND CALF (No. 28 ϕ) The BMC XII. 17 illustrates this unique symbol on a Corinthian stater. The cow suckling a calf is the usual type of the coins of Dyrrachium, and the letters on the Corinthian coin are ΔI. The coins of this Corinthian series are dated 350-338 B. C. by BMC.

3. HOOK (No. 63 Ec.) This coin with the symbol of a hook, and the letter E has been attributed tentatively by BMC to Echinus, but the E is the only proof offered, and there is no ethnic initial in the more usual place on the Pegasos die. The same symbol of the hook occurs frequently at Leucas, accompanied by the letters EY and sometimes in addition Δ on the obverse. Mr. Miller's coin, illustrated,

3Λb, shows ΕΛ and throws further doubt on the description of the Echinus coin, as either Λ or Υ may fit the flan of that piece.

MOUSE (No. 83A) The symbols on the staters of torium are connected with the worship of Apollo, and the lyre, tripod, omphalos and palm tree. The little mouse claims a place among these sacred objects, as it is under the special protection of Apollo Smintheus. Tame mice were kept in a temple of Apollo in the Troad.

NIKE (No. 84 ρ) The symbol of Nike, flying with a palm in her outstretched hands, appears on a great variety of coins. Many of these Nike staters belong to the I group, and are dated by BMC circa B. C. 338. In the collection at the Museum of Syracuse is a stater of exactly this type and design, with the Nike symbol and I. The ρ beneath Pegasos is placed by indistinct lettering, and Prof. Orsi interprets the letters as the Punic characters for Eryx, the Phoenician town in the N. W. of Sicily. Prof. Orsi kindly gave me a cast of the coin, but the lettering is so faint that the photograph could scarcely serve as a proof of identity.

BMC, page L, reference is made to a stater of Eryx, of Corinthian type. The coin is now in the Six Collection at the Hague. An engraving, in the catalogue of the Six Collection, shows the head of Athene in Corinthian helmet, facing right, without letter or symbol. There are Punic letters beneath the Pegasos. The coin is of a distinctly different style from the specimen at Syracuse.

RAM (No. 103 Dyr a & b) Special attention should be given to Mr. Newell's two coins of Dyrrhachium, illustrated as 103 Dyr. a & b, with an enlargement of b. These coins are in the usual Dyrrhachian style, with the symbol of the club, and in each specimen the helmet of Athene bears a most unusual ornament, a tiny ram's head terminal on the cheek-

piece. The bowl of Athene's helmet on the Syracusan staters is frequently decorated with a griffin, but on all other staters of Corinthian type the wreath of leaves (olive or laurel) is the only ornamentation. In the McClean collection at Cambridge there is a stater of Dyrrhachium like Mr. Newell's specimen 103 Dyr. a: it is illustrated in the catalogue of that collection, Vol. II, Plate 183, No. 2, and the ram's head may be clearly seen with a magnifying glass, although no mention of it is made in the text.

7. SILENOS (No. 112 ϕ b) This rare and beautiful coin from Mr. Newell's collection shows the head of Silenos, the god of wine, over the kantharos, the wine cup. The wreathed head, with its snub nose and long beard, bears an odd resemblance to a cluster of grapes. BMC XXXV. 11 and Bab. CCLXXV. 4 each illustrate a stater from the same die, but as these specimens are not in such fine condition, the error has been made in each catalogue of calling the head of the Wine God a bunch of his own sacred fruit and classifying Silenos as "Grapes".

8. STYLIS (No. 118 ϕ) This symbol, mast with yard, (frequently wreathed) is accompanied on Corinthian staters by the letter Λ . Staters at Leucas, bearing the same symbol and letter (initial of Leucas) are placed by BMC in approximately the same period, 330-243 B. C.

9. WREATH (No. 137 ϕ a) The symbol of a small wreath encircling Δ is identical on staters of Corinth and Dyrrhachium, and BMC p. LIII suggests that both coins possibly should be attributed to Corinth. Mr. Miller's specimen shows a variation, the Δ being outside the wreath, and the tiny leaves of the wreath pointing outward—"radiate".



CORINTH-126 ♀

Obverse die

(Enlarged two Diameters)

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE I



8

♀



9

Am



10

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



12

♀



13

♀



13

♀



13

♀



14

?



15

Am



15

♀

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



16

♀



17

AL^a



17

AL^b



17

AL



17

♀



17

Λ



18

AL



19

AL



19

^a
Am



19

^b
Am



19

^a
♀



19

^b
♀



19

♀^c



20

♀



21

Am

PLATE II



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE I



8

♀



9

Am



10

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



11

♀



12

♀



13

♀



13

♀



13

♀



14

?



15

Am

15



♀

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE II



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE III



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



40

⊙



41

Am^a



41

Am^b



42

Λ^a



42

Λ^b



43

♀



44

Λ^a



44

Λ^b



45

♀



46

Λ



47

Am.



47

Λ



47

Arg



47

♀



47

Lo

PLATE IV



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE II



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE III



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



40



41

Am^a



41

Am^b



42

Λ^a



42

Λ^b



43

♀



44

Λ^a



44

Λ^b



45

♀



46

Λ



47

Am



47

Λ



47

Arq



47

♀



47

Lo

PLATE IV



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE V



61

Ec.



61

Λ^a



61

Λ^b



62

ρ^a



62

ρ^b



62

?



63

ρ



64

ρ



65

Am^a



65

Am^b



65

A^a



65

A^b



65

ρ^a



65

ρ^b



65

ρ^c

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE VI



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE VII



84 φ^d



84 \wedge



85 Am^a



85 Am^b



86 \wedge



86 \odot



87 \wedge^a



87 \wedge^b



88 A^i



89 Am^a



89 Am^b



89 φ^c



89 φ^b



89 φ^c



90 A^a

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



65

9d



65

9e



65

Λ^e



65

Λ^b



65

Λ^c



66

9



66

Λ^a



66

Λ^b



67

Am



67

Am^b



67

Λ^a



67

Λ^b



67

Lo.



67

?



68

Λ

PLATE VI



69

Am



69

A^a



69

A^b



69

AP^a



69

AP^b



70

Am



71

A



72

A



73

Am



74

A



74

A



75

A



76

A



77

Am



77

A^e

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE VII



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE VIII



98 q



99 q^a



99 q^b



99 q^c



99 q^d



100 Am



100 q



101 AL



101 q



102 Al



103 Am



103 Dyr^a



103 Dyr^b



103 A



104 Am

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE IX



110 Cor



110 A



110 Met



110 Θ



111 A



112 ♀



112 A



113 Am^a



113 Am^b



113 Arg^a



113 Arg^b



114 ♀



115 ♀



115 A^a



115 A^b

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE IX



110

Cor



110

α



110

Met



110

θ



111

α



112

η



112

α



113

Am^a



113

Am^b



113

Arg^a



113

Arg^b



114

η



115

η



115

α



115

α

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



PLATE X



CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



129

Q^a



129

Q^b



129

Q^c



129

Q^d



129

Q^e



129

Syr.



130

N^a



130

N^b



130

N^c



130

Arg



130

Q^a



130

Q^b



131

Syr



132

Q



133

Q

PLATE XI



133

Syr



134

Am^a



134

Am^b



134

q



135

q



136

q



137

N



137

q^a



137

q^b



137

Λ



138

Am



138

q^a



138

q^b



138

q^c



138

q^d

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



(One and one half Diameters)

PLATE XII



(One and one half Diameters)

CORINTHIAN SYMBOLS



(One and one half Diameters)

PLATE XIII



99

9^d



103

Dyr



112

9



112

Λ



116

9^a



123

9^h

(One and one half Diameters)



129

♀^e



130

Α



132

♀



136

♀



138

♀⁶



138

♀^d

(One and one half Diameters)

CJ
35
N9

AUG 5 1932

NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 54



AN EGYPTIAN HOARD OF THE
SECOND CENTURY, A.D.

BY
SHIRLEY H. WEBER

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AN EGYPTIAN HOARD OF THE SECOND CENTURY, A. D.

BY SHIRLEY H. WEBER

The small hoard of silver coins under consideration in this article was purchased in toto by Mr. Newell in Cairo in December 1923, and has been very kindly entrusted by him to the writer for study. The dealer in antiquities from whom the coins were purchased assured Mr. Newell that they formed a single hoard which had very recently been found by certain fellahin at Sakha in the Delta, and that to the best of his knowledge the hoard was intact. His statements are borne out by an examination of the coins. It is certain that they all came from one hoard: they were all covered with a distinctive patina composed of several layers of purple oxide and verdegriis, so thick that each coin was a formless lump on which the outlines of the design were scarcely distinguishable. That we have the complete hoard before us cannot be asserted so confidently. The finders might very easily, have kept back some part of the find. But during a sojourn of some weeks following the purchase, after spending considerable time in looking over the stocks of the many dealers in Cairo and in Alexandria, Mr. Newell was unable to find any trace of other coins like those in the hoard. Certainly no casual tourist would have wished to purchase mere formless

lumps of metal so encrusted that only a person accustomed to handling such objects could be certain even that they were silver. That the hoard was found in the Delta is very likely, but this cannot be proved.

A feature of the hoard before us is the curious and unusual association in it of coins of the Peloponnesus and of Rhodes of the second and first centuries before Christ, with Roman denarii of the first and second centuries after Christ. There can be no question that we are dealing with one hoard, and not with two hoards mixed together. There are two instances where a Greek and a Roman coin are glued together by their common corrosion; these have not been cleaned, except so far as to enable one to distinguish their types. In one instance we have a Rhodian hemidrachm (type of B. M. C. Caria, Pl. XL, 12) still adhering to a quinarius of Trajan from the mint of Caesarea (B. M. C. Gal. etc. p. 53, No. 54, Pl. IX, 11), and again, a triobol of the Achaean League with a denarius of Domitian. These coins have not been separated, as it was deemed more important to keep them together for demonstration, than to separate them merely to determine their exact variety, as was done with other adhering coins in the hoard.

The Greek coins are for the most part varieties of the coins of the Achaean League, chiefly from Elis, and of Sicyon, Argos and Rhodes, in much worn condition. The Roman coins date from the last

years of Nero to the end of Trajan's reign, and every reign is represented, Trajan's having the largest number. The earlier denarii down to the end of the reign of Titus and some of those of Domitian, as might be expected, are more or less worn; many of Domitian's are in splendid condition, while those of Nerva and Trajan are almost without exception in brilliant condition, showing little, if any evidence of circulation. The latest coins in the hoard are from Trajan's sixth consulship (114-117 A. D.) and we can place the burial of the hoard at about that time—shortly before, or immediately after the emperor's death.

The details recounted above are mostly taken from Mr. Newell's notes, which he turned over to the writer with the hoard. There are two important questions to be considered in connection with this find, which make it unique in the annals of coin finds in Egypt, (1) How explain the presence of a quantity of Roman denarii in Egypt? (2) How account for the presence with them of a number of Greek coins of at least *two* centuries earlier?

(1). After the acquisition of Egypt by the Romans, it became an imperial province, and, in accordance with a policy initiated by Augustus, was treated by successive emperors as a province apart from the other imperial provinces.¹ The final Ptolemaic coinage was allowed by Augustus to continue in use, and the Roman denarius equated to a tetradrachm, which from the reign of Ptolemy

XIII Auletes was no longer of even approximately pure silver. With the reign of Tiberius, a new tetradrachm of billon was introduced, the value of which was set at that of a denarius.² This billon coinage, minted at Alexandria, with its fractions in copper, continued in circulation and furnished the bulk of the money for the daily needs of the province until the reign of Diocletian. Now it has been noted³ that while the denarius apparently circulated freely about the shores of the Mediterranean in the early centuries of our era, its occurrence in Egypt is comparatively rare; the rubbish mounds, while yielding immense quantities of the local billon money, seldom give forth denarii singly or in hoards. Sig. Dattari, who for years examined most of the hoards found in Egypt,⁴ noted only one hoard of denarii ranging from the reign of Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, and two or three from the time of the Severi. These small lots Milne thinks were either military in origin, or the property of some Roman official. The accounts on papyri or ostraca, where military accounts are often stated in Roman currency, would bear out this opinion, as would also the scarcity of documents that mention denarii and do not deal with the affairs of the Roman government. This apparent scarcity of the denarius in the daily business life of Egypt as reflected in the papyri was noted by Mommsen,⁵ who advanced the theory that the rather frequent occurrence of the words ἀργυρίου δραχμαί in settlements of accounts must

refer interchangeably to the Ptolemaic silver or to the denarius. Sig. Segré⁶ has found an explanation of the scarcity of denarii in Egyptian hoards that is probably correct. He suggests that the denarius, standardized with the Alexandrine tetradrachm, was considered as legal tender in Egypt, because the standard Roman coin of gold and silver was current in all the provinces of the Empire. But in effect the denarius did not circulate in Egypt, due to the exceptional monetary advantage accorded the Romans in Egypt, so that the intrinsic value of the Roman silver maintained itself above that of the Alexandrine tetradrachm. In the second and third centuries the ratio between the silver of the denarius and the imperial Alexandrine tetradrachm became increasingly more unfavorable to the Alexandrine money, which then had to be limited in circulation to internal use, while the Roman denarius of high intrinsic value, was almost eliminated from local circulation. This, he concludes, is the reason for the rarity of finds of hoards in Egypt before the time of the Severi.

(2). Let us turn for a moment to the other question, that concerning the presence of a number of Greek coins in the hoard. Of these, there are twelve from Rhodes of circa 166–88 B. C., three from Argos of circa 322–229 B. C., five of Sicyon of circa 250–146 B. C., and of those of the Achaean League after 280 B. C. three are from Aegium, nine from Elis, one from Pallantium, and one of doubtful

provenance. All of these were coins that became standard for a time beyond the districts in which they were issued. The coins of Rhodes enjoyed a wide circulation about the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean long after they ceased to be struck.⁷ The abundance of coins of the Achaean League in finds testifies to an almost equal popularity. Argos and Sicyon, two very prosperous communities during the Hellenistic period, continued to strike coins of their own even while members of the Achaean League, and these enjoyed a wide circulation in the Peloponnesus. The established use of these coins continued long after the introduction of the denarius, so that we find references in writers like Polybius, Plutarch and Dio to the various Greek drachmae and the Roman denarius alike by the word δραχμή. To quote Head (l. c.) "It is quite probable that a loose use of the word δραχμή for all silver coins of about the size of the Roman denarius, great numbers of which must have remained in circulation for a century or perhaps two, after they were issued, was very general at this time." The remarkable fact, then, that is pointed out by this hoard, is the persistence of these coins in circulation, for perhaps as long as two centuries beyond Head's estimate. The owner would not have treasured them along with the denarii if they had no commercial value, unless he were a collector of coins, a numismatist, and we have no certain evidence for the existence of such in antiquity, nor would any numismatist;

ancient or modern, make a collection of coins of this combination. The extreme wear on the Greek coins indicates long use before they entered the hoard, which was probably begun some time in Domitian's reign, as may be judged from the wear on the coins of his imperial predecessors, and the very slight wear on the coins of that emperor and his successors.

To return to the other question, namely the presence of this combination of Greek and Roman coins in Egypt. It might be suggested that they were the property of a Roman soldier in Egypt. But soldiers are more likely to be spenders than savers, and seldom left hoards, so far as we know. Even if this objection can be overridden, it is impossible that a Roman soldier should have been transferred from Achaëa to the peculiarly imperial province of Egypt, because Achaëa was a senatorial province which had no soldiers. Then the total absence from this hoard of Ptolemaic silver, which remained in circulation in Egypt, as we know from the papyri, until the end of the third century of our era,⁸ is a striking characteristic. If the hoard is representative of the better coinage in circulation in Egypt in Trajan's time, certainly by Gresham's law some Ptolemaic silver should have been included in it. But this negative evidence drives us to the conclusion that the hoard was not intended for use in Egypt; it was the property of some resident of Achaëa, temporarily sojourning in Egypt,

probably in or near Alexandria (the dealer had a suspicion, but no actual proof, that the hoard came from the Delta), who intended to return to Greece where his money would be good. This intention was in some way prevented, and the coins remained in Egypt, to be discovered in our time.

Just as this paper goes to press, an article by F. Heichelheim⁹ has appeared in *Klio* which throws further light upon the reason for the burial of the hoard. In this article, the writer comments on the sudden fall of the value of the Roman aureus especially in Egypt under Trajan. A sudden fall in the value of gold would make some careful merchant or banker who had dealings with the countries about the Mediterranean, save the pieces of good silver that fell into his hands. A merchant in the Delta, where the hoard is supposed to have been found, would be able to pick up these coins from abroad and save them with the silver denarii of Rome. Trade with the outside world must have been very active. These silver coins would be safer to save than the aurei, the value of which was uncertain. With this explanation, the association of the Greek with the Roman coins does not seem so strange.

After the time of Trajan, the aureus seems to have maintained its value, hence we find few hoards of denarii in later years. The finding of this hoard, then, confirms the points made by Heichelheim.

The five coins of Trajan with Greek inscriptions from the mint of Caesarea in Cappadocia belong

naturally in the hoard, when we understand the presence of the coins of Greece and Rhodes. The mints of the great eastern cities of Antioch and Caesarea turned out great quantities of silver that circulated abundantly in the Eastern Mediterranean, and furnished a staple coinage for the East.

The hoard then has furnished us with these facts: first, that the coins of certain Greek cities remained in circulation under the Roman Empire for a longer period than was formerly supposed; second, that these coins passed current, in ordinary transactions, on a footing at least equal to the denarius. This state of affairs in the eastern part of the empire would accord with the well known Roman policy of disturbing as little as possible existing institutions in the acquired provinces.

There are on the coins of the Achaean League in the hoard some combinations of monograms not hitherto noted, and on the other Greek coins, some new magistrates' names. These have been noted in the list in the proper places. For the identification of the Roman coins, I have used Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1923-6) rather than Cohen's *Descr. Hist. des Monnaies Impériales Romaines* which has a less scientific arrangement. For the coins of the reign of Trajan, I have inserted also references to Strack's¹⁰ recent work on the coins of that Emperor. There are some rare and unusual combinations of types, as I have noted in the commentary.

Here follows for the imperial coins a table of frequencies of occurrence for the various emperors:

Emperor	Date A. D.	No. of yrs. in reign	No. of Coins in Hoard	Average coins per year of reign
Nero	54-68	14	2	
Galba	68-69	7 mos.	1	
Otho	69	3 mos.	2	
Vitellius	69	11 mos.	2	
Vespasian	69-79	10 yrs.	29	3 -
Titus	79-81	2	7	3½
Domitian	81-96	15	60	4
Nerva	96-98 ca.	1 yr. 4 mos.	24	18
Trajan	98-117	19	138	7+

Note: The coins of Titus and Domitian struck under the reign of their predecessor, are listed with his coins. Coins of female relatives of the emperor are counted with his coins. The coins from Caesarea have been counted with the other coins of Trajan.

In the above table disregarding the figures of the first four because of their smallness, it is interesting to note an increased average of coins per year in the hoard as we approach the time of burial. This is as should be expected. The exceptional increase

in Nerva's reign out of all proportion to his regnal years is probably due to the energy of the hoarder during that period. The figures of the table in general bear out the remarks already made above on the evidences of wear on the coins.

I should like here to express my very great appreciation to Mr. Newell, Mr. S. P. Noe and Mrs. Agnes B. Brett for their many kind and helpful suggestions.

RHODES 166-88 B. C.

1. Head of Helios r., radiate.

℞ Shallow incuse square containing P O; rose with bud on r. and symbol on l.; magistrate's name above. Cf. B. M. C. Caria, p. 252 f. Symbol and name illegible. Chipped. ⱻ drachm 1.38.

2. Similar. Symbol, caduceus (?). ΚΑΛΛ [ΙΞΕΝΗΣ] (?) Cf. B. M. C. p. 254, No. 267. ⱻ drachm 1.59.

3. Similar. Symbol, hand holding ear of corn. ΝΙΚ[Η]ΦΟΡΟΣ. Cf. B. M. C. p. 255, No. 276; Pl. XL, 8. ⱻ drachm 2.13.

4. Similar. Symbol and inscr. illegible. ⱻ drachm 1.73.

5.* Fragment of coin of Rhodes, ℞ outward, similar to above, ΤΑ; adhering to ℞ of coin of Caesarea (Cappadocia), B. M. C. Gal., Capp. etc., p. 53, No. 54, ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣ|ΝΕΡ|ΤΡΑΙΑΝ|ΣΕΒ|ΓΕΡΜ, head of Emperor r. laur. Pl. II.

6.* ℞ of drachm of Rhodes adhering to ℞ of coin of Argos. Rhodes: radiate head, r. Argos: forepart of wolf, r. ⱻ. Combined weight, 3.54.

ca. 88-43 B. C.

Type: Head of Helios, three-quarters r.

℞ Full-blown rose to front; magistrate's name with symbol. Cf. B. M. C. Caria, p. 260 f.

7.* ANTIAE[QN] symbol, a plustre. Apparently a new name. \mathfrak{R} 2.05. (Edges badly broken.)

8. Similar. [T]IMOΞENOΣ symbol, oenochoe and tripod. B. M. C. No. 341. \mathfrak{R} 3.23 (broken.)

9. Similar. APXIA[. . .] A new name. \mathfrak{R} 3.38 (edge chipped).

10. Similar. Broken and mended. \mathfrak{R} 1.12. Inscriptions illegible.

11. Similar. Inscription illegible. \mathfrak{R} fragmentary.

12. Similar. \mathfrak{R} stuck to fragment of another coin. Illegible.

ARGOS 322–229 B. C.

Forepart of wolf r.

\mathfrak{R} A with symbol and magistrate's name.

13. [. . .]KΛEOΣ. Cf. B. M. C. Pelop. p. 144, No. 110; Hunt. Cat. II p. 153, No. 13. \mathfrak{R} 1.78.

14. Two coins adhering; v. No. 6.

SICYON—TRIOBOLS—250–146 B. C.

15.* Dove flying r.

\mathfrak{R} Σ in shallow incuse square and magistrate's name, OΛΥ[M]ΠΙΑΔΑΣ. Part of name covered by fragment of adhering coin of Rhodes, B. M. C. Caria, p. 254. B. M. C. Pelop. p. 52, No. 197. \mathfrak{R} 2.59.

16. Similar.

Ῥ [K]ΛΕ|ΑΝ|ΔΡΟ. B. M. C. Pelop. p. 52, No. 195. Ɱ 2.13.

17. Similar.

Ῥ ΚΛΕ|ΑΝ|ΔΡ. Ɱ 1.85.

18. Dove flying l.

Ῥ ΠΡ[Ο]||[ΜΑ]ΧΙ|ΔΑΣ., B. M. C. Pelop. p. 52, No. 200. Ɱ 1.80.

19. Similar.

Ῥ Traces of name², probably the same as on No. 15. Ɱ 1.62.

DRACHMS OF ACHAEAN LEAGUE AFTER 280 B. C.

AEGIUM

20. Head of Zeus r., laureate [ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ].

Ῥ ΑΠΙ|ΣΤΟΔΑ|ΜΟC (Coin mutilated and patched.) B. M. C. Pelop. No. 24. Clerk, p. 3. Ɱ 1.90.

21. Similar.

Ῥ Similar. Symbol, thunderbolt. Badly chipped. Ɱ 1.52.

22. Similar.

Ῥ Inscription obliterated. Much worn. Ɱ 1.73.

ELIS

23.* Head of Zeus r., laureate.

Ῥ Monogram of the Achaean League with abbreviations of the name of the mint and magistrate's monograms in the angles. Clerk, Coins of the

Achaean League, No. 244? Plate X, 16. The upper monogram, judging from his plate, has been misread by Clerk. It seems to be a combination of the letters upsilon and gamma. \mathfrak{R} 1.81.

24.* Similar. Clerk, No. 273, Plate XI, 43. \mathfrak{R} 2.09.

25. Similar. Clerk, No. 272, Plate XI, 42. \mathfrak{R} 1.69.

26. Similar. Clerk, No. 273, Compare with No. 23. \mathfrak{R} 1.29.

27. Similar. Clerk, No. 254, Plate X, 25. \mathfrak{R} 2.00.

28. Similar. Clerk, No. 247, Plate X, 19. \mathfrak{R} 1.91.

29. Similar. Clerk, No. 278. \mathfrak{R} 1.63.

30.* Similar; head 1. Clerk, No. 270, Plate XI, 40. \mathfrak{R} 1.665.

31. Similar. Apparently not in Clerk's list. The upper monogram appears to be a pi or gamma combined with N. \mathfrak{R} 1.88.

PALLANTIUM

32. Similar. Clerk, Coins of the Achaean League, No. 220, Plate IX, 4. \mathfrak{R} 2.02.

ROMAN EMPIRE—DENARII

NERO 54–68 A. D.

34.* Head laur r. IMP NERO CAESAR AVGUSTVS.

℞ IVPPITER CVSTOS Jupiter seated l., holding
sceptre and thunderbolt. Matt.-Syd. I, p. 148, No.
46. ⌘ 2.98.

35. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS otherwise
same as 34. Matt.-Syd. No. 45.

GALBA 68-69

36.* IMP SER GALBA AVG Head r. bare.

℞ In wreath of oak: S P Q R

O B

C S

⌘ 3.21. A rare coin; not in Matt.-Syd. (cf. I, p.
201, No. 20) nor in B. M. C. Coins of the Roman
Empire. The bare head of the obv. not found with
this ℞.

OTHO 69 A. D.

37. IMP OTHO CAE[SARA]VG TRP Head
bare r.

℞ PAX ORBIS TERRAR[VM] Pax standing l.
with branch and caduceus. ⌘ 3.27. Matt.-Syd. I,
p. 219, No. 3.

38.* Similar.

℞ SECVRITAS P R Securitas standing l. with
wreath and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 12. ⌘ 3.28.

VITELLIUS 69 A. D.

39. [A VITE]LLIVS GERMAN IMP[^{TRP}...] Head
r. laur.

℞ CONCORDIA P R. Concordia seated l. hold-

ing patera and cornucopiae. Æ 2.83. Matt.-Syd. I, p. 224 No. 1.

40.* A VITELLIVS G[ERMAN]IMP TRP Head r. laur.

R LIBERTAS RESTITVTA Libertas standing r. holding pileus and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 18. Æ 2.91.

VESPASIAN 69-79

41. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head r. laur.

R COS ITER FORT RED Fortuna standing l. holding rudder and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. II, p. 15, No. 4. 69-71. Æ 3.00.

42.* [IMP] CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head r. laur.

R COS ITER TR POT Mars striding r., carrying trophy and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 7. 69-71. Æ 3.04.

43 and 44. Same inscriptions. R Pax seated l. holding branch and caduceus. Matt.-Syd. No. 10. 69-71. Æ 2.91, 2.90.

45. IMP CAES VESP AVG P M Head r. laur.

R AVGVR TRI POT In between, simpulum, aspergil, jug, lituus. Matt.-Syd. No. 30 70-2. Æ 2.63.

46. IMP CAES VESP AVG P M COS IIII Head r. laur.

R as on 45. Matt.-Syd. No. 42. 72-3. Æ 2.86.

47 and 48. IMP CAES VESP AVG P M COS IIII Head r. laur.

℞ TRI POT Vesta seated l., holding simpulum.
Matt.-Syd. No. 49. 72-3. ⌘ 3.33, 2.77 (clipped).

49. Same.

℞ VICTORIA AVGVSTI Victory advancing r.
with palm, about to place wreath on trophy. Matt.-
Syd. No. 52. 72-3. ⌘ 2.64 (mended).

50. IMP CAES VESP AVG CENS Head r. laur.

℞ PONTIF MAXIM Vespasian seated r. holding
branch and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 65. 73 A. D.
⌘ 2.62.

51. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head
r. laur.

℞ PON MAX TR P COS V winged caduceus
upright. Matt.-Syd. No. 75. 74 A. D. ⌘ 2.83.

52.* Same.

℞ PON MAX TR P COS VI Pax seated l.,
holding branch. Matt.-Syd. No. 90. 75 A. D.
⌘ 2.75.

53. Same.

℞ Same. Victory standing l. on prow, holding
wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 93. 75 A. D.
⌘ 2.56.

54. Same.

℞ Insc. illegible; either [COS VII] or [COS VIII];
i. e., 76 or 77-8 A. D. Cf. Matt.-Syd. II, pp. 25ff.
⌘ 2.86.

55. Same.

℞ COS VII Eagle facing front, on cippus, head l.
Matt.-Syd. No. 99. 76 A. D. ⌘ 2.78 (mended).

56. Same.

℞ COS VIII Mars standing l. with spear and trophy. Matt.-Syd. No. 103. 77-8. Ɱ 2.93.

57.* Same. Head l. laur.

℞ COS VIII Prōw r., above, star. Matt.-Syd. No. 108. 77-8. Ɱ 3.28.

58. CAE[SAR] VESPASIANVS AVG Head r. laur.

℞ [IMP XIX] Modius with corn ears. Matt.-Syd. No. 110. 77-8. Ɱ 2.86.

59-61. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head r. laur.

℞ IOVIS CVSTOS Jupiter standing l., sacrificing from patera over altar and holding sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 124. 75-79. Ɱ 2.87, 3.02, 2.94.

62.* CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Head l. laur.

℞ ANNONA AVG Annona seated l., holding corn ears on lap with r., l. hand on hip. A type not in Cohen (cf. No. 28), nor in Matt.-Syd. (cf. No. 131b). 78-9. Ɱ 2.96.

63. Same. Head r. laur. Same ℞. Ɱ 2.63 (broken.)

TITUS—STRUCK UNDER VESPASIAN

64. T CAESA[R VESP]ASIANVS Head r. laur.

℞ [ANNONA]AVG Annona seated l., ears of corn in lap. Matt.-Syd. II p. 39, No. 218. 78-9. Ɱ 2.96.

DOMITIAN—STRUCK UNDER VESPASIAN

65. CAESAR AVG F DO[MITIANVS] [or COS III?] Head r. laur. 74-76.

℞ Stuck to coin of Achaean League. v. No. 33, above.

66. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS Head r. laur.

℞ COS IIII Pegasus r. Matt.-Syd. No. 238. 76 A. D. Ɱ 2.91.

67. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS COS [V or VI?] Head r. laur.

℞ PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS Salus standing r. leaning on cippus and feeding snake. Matt.-Syd. Nos. 239 or 243. 77-9. Ɱ 2.96.

68. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS Head r. laur.

℞ COS V Wolf l. with twins. Matt.-Syd. No. 241b. 77-8. Ɱ 2.73 (broken).

69. Same.

℞ Same. Helmeted horseman, prancing r., r. hand raised. Matt.-Syd. No. 242. 77-8. Ɱ 2.93.

TITUS 79-81 A. D.

70. IMP TITVS CAES VESPASIAN AVG PM Head r. laur.

℞ TRP IX IMP XV COS VIII PP Elephant l. Matt.-Syd. II p. 119 No. 22. Jan. 1-July 1, 80 A. D. Ɱ 2.83.

71 and 72. Same.

℞ Same. Draped table, on which winged thun-

derbolt. Matt.-Syd. No. 23b. Same date. ⌘ 2.90, 3.16.

73. Same.

⌘ Same. Dolphin twined round anchor. Matt.-Syd. No. 26b. Same date. ⌘ 2.90.

74.* Same.

⌘ BONVS EVENTVS AVGVSTI Bonus Eventus standing naked l. holding corn-ears and patera. Matt.-Syd. No. 31 (Rare). 79-80. ⌘ 2.81.

75 and 76. DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS Head of Vespasian r. laur.

⌘ S·C on shield supported by two capricorns; below, a globe. Matt.-Syd. II p. 123, No. 63. 80-81. ⌘ 2.90, 2.87.

DOMITIAN—STRUCK UNDER TITUS

77. CAESAR DIVI F DOMITIANVS COS VII Head r. laur.

⌘ PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS Helmet on throne. Matt.-Syd. II p. 122 No. 51. 80 and later. ⌘ 3.10.

JULIA, DAUGHTER OF TITUS

78.* IVLIA AVGVSTA TITI AVGVSTI F Bust r. draped.

⌘ VENVS AVGVST Venus standing r. leaning on cippus, holding helmet and spear. 80-81. ⌘ 3.07. An unusual specimen; cf. Matt.-Syd. II p. 122, No. 56, Pl. III, 55 where she holds helmet and spear; also Cohen No. 14.

DOMITIAN 81-96 A. D.

79.* IMP CAES DOMITIANVS AVG PM
Head r. laur.

℞ TR POT II COS VIIII DES X PP Minerva
standing r. with shield and javelin. A rare combina-
tion, not listed in Matt.-Syd. (II, p. 158) or Cohen.
83 A. D. ⌘ 2.99.

80. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva with shield and javelin r. on
prow, on which, owl. Mat.-Syd. (No. 36) assigns
this type to *N* only; but v. Cohen, No. 606. 83 A. D.
⌘ 3.05.

81. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP
V Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XI COS XII CENS PPP Minerva l.
with thunderbolt and spear; at feet, a shield. Matt.-
Syd. No. 75. 86 A. D. ⌘ 3.25.

82. Same.

℞ IMP XII COS XII CENS PP Minerva l., r.
on spear, l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. No. 82. 86 A. D.
⌘ 3.18.

83. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP
VI Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XII COS XII CENS PPP Minerva l.,
spear in r., l. hand on hip. Type-combination not
listed in Matt.-Syd. (II, p. 164) nor in Cohen. 86
A. D. ⌘ 3.11.

84. Same.

℞ IMP XIII COS XII CENS PPP Minerva l.
with spear in r., l. on hip. Rare combination;

noted only on an aureus by Matt.-Syd. II p. 164, note. 86 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 3.24.

85. Same.

\mathfrak{R} IMP XIII COS XIII CENS PPP Minerva r. with javelin and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 91. 87 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 3.37.

86. Same.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Minerva r. on prow, with javelin and shield; on prow, owl. Matt.-Syd. No. 92. 87 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 3.17 (chipped.)

87. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP VII Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} IMP XIII COS XIII CENS PPP Same type. Cohen No. 236; Matt.-Syd. (No. 108) gives this combination with GERMAN on the obv. 88 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 3.26.

88. Same.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Minerva l. with thunderbolt and spear; behind, shield on ground. Matt.-Syd. No. 109. 88 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 3.45.

89. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP VIII Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} IMP XIX COS XIII CENS P PP Minerva r., with javelin and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 137. 88-9. \mathfrak{R} 2.98 (chipped).

90. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM [TRP??] Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} IMP XXI COS XV CENS P PP Minerva l., r. hand on spear, l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. pp. 171-2. 90-1. \mathfrak{R} 2.73 (broken).

91. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM
TRP VIII Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XXI COS XV CENS P PP Minerva r.
brandishing javelin and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 147.
90 A. D. Ɱ 3.08.

92. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva r. on prow, brandishing
javelin; on prow, owl. Matt.-Syd. No. 148. 90
A. D. Ɱ 3.20.

93. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva l. holding thunderbolt and
spear; at feet, a shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 149. 90
A. D. Ɱ 3.20.

94 and 95. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva l., spear in l., r. on hip. Matt.-
Syd. No. 150. 90 A. D. Ɱ 3.34, 2.90.

96-100. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM
PM TRP X Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XXI COS XV CENS P PP Minerva r.,
brandishing javelin and holding shield. Matt.-Syd.
No. 152. 90-1. Ɱ 3.34, 3.20, 3.05, 3.15, 3.44.

101. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva r. on prow as before. Matt.-
Syd. No. 153. 90-91. Ɱ 3.17.

102. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM
TRP XI Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XXI COS XV CENS P PP Minerva r.
with shield and javelin. Matt.-Syd. No. 156. 91
A. D. Ɱ 3.16.

103 and 104. Same.

℞ Minerva and owl on prow as before. Matt.-Syd. No. 157. 91 A. D. ⌘ 3.30, 3.13.

105 and 106. Same.

℞ IMP XXI COS XVI CENS P PP Minerva r. with javelin and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 166. 92 A. D. ⌘ 3.30, 3.64.

107-109. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva l., holding thunderbolt and spear; at feet, shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 168. 92 A. D. ⌘ 3.23, 3.18, 3.27.

110-114. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva l., holding spear in r., l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. No. 169. 92 A. D. ⌘ 3.37, 3.15, 3.26, 3.31, 3.37.

115. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XII Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P PP Minerva r. with javelin and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 171. 92 3. ⌘ 3.31.

116. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva r. on prow with owl, as before. Matt.-Syd. No. 172. 92-3. ⌘ 3.24.

117 and 118. Same.

℞ Same Minerva l., spear in r., l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. No. 174. 92-3. ⌘ 3.66, 3.04.

119 and 120. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XIII Head r. laur.

℞ IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P PP Minerva r., brandishing javelin and holding shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 175. 93-4. ⌘ 3.09, 3.22.

121-123. Same.

Ⲕ Same. Minerva on prow as before. Matt.-Syd. No. 176. 93-4. ⲛ 3.10, 3.39, 3.24.

124. Same.

Ⲕ Same. Minerva l., holding thunderbolt and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 177. 93-4. ⲛ 3.00.

125-128. Same.

Ⲕ Same. Minerva l., spear in r. hand, l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. No. 178. 93-4. ⲛ 3.29, 3.31, 2.92, 3.11.

129. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XIII Head r. laur.

Ⲕ IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P PP Minerva l., spear in r., l. on hip. Matt.-Syd. No. 180. 94 A. D. ⲛ 2.99.

130. Same.

Ⲕ IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P PP Minerva r. on prow with owl, as before. Matt.-Syd. No. 187. 95 A. D. ⲛ 3.34.

131-132. IMP CAES DOMIT GERM PM TRP XV Head r. laur.

Ⲕ Same. Matt.-Syd. No. 191. 95-6. ⲛ 3.27, 3.30.

133. Same.

Ⲕ Same. Matt.-Syd. No. 193. 95-6. ⲛ 3.28.

134.* Same.

Ⲕ IMP XXII COS [XVII?CEN]S P PP Minerva Victrix flying l. with spear and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 194. 95-6. ⲛ 3.38.

135. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TRP XVI Head r. laur.

℞ Same. Minerva l. holding thunderbolt and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 197. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.13.

136.* Same.

℞ Same. Minerva l., spear in r., l. on hip. This combination not listed in Cohen nor in Matt.-Syd. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.17.

137. Same.

℞ Same. Minerva r. with javelin and shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 197b. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.37.

DOMITIA

138.* DOMI]TIA AVGVSTA IMP DOMIT
Bust draped r., hair in long domed queue.

℞ PIETAS AVGVST Pietas seated l. with sceptre; in front, child. Matt.-Syd. II p. 180, No. 214. 82-3 and later. ⌘ 2.57.

NERVA 96-98 A. D.

139.* IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TRP COS
II PP Head r. laur.

℞ AEQUITAS AVGVST Aequitas l., with cornucopiae and scales. Matt.-Syd. II p. 223, No. 1. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.30.

140.* Same.

℞ CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM Clasped hands. Matt.-Syd. No. 2. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.12.

141. Same.

℞ FORTVNA AVGVST Fortuna l. with rudder and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 4. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.00.

142. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PONT MAX
TRP Head r. laur.

℞ COS II DESIGN III PP Priestly emblems.
Matt.-Syd. No. 12. 96 A. D. ⌘ 3.38.

143-144. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TRP
COS III PP Head r. laur.

℞ CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM Clasped
hands. Matt.-Syd. No. 14. 97 A. D. ⌘ 3.26, 2.92.

145 and 146. Same.

℞ Same. Clasped hands holding legionary eagle
on prow. Matt.-Syd. No. 15. 97 A. D. ⌘ 3.13,
3.32.

147 and 148. Same.

℞ FORTVNA AVGVST Fortuna l., with rudder
and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 16. 97 A. D.
⌘ 3.31, 3.01.

149. Same.

℞ FORTUNA P R Fortuna seated l., with scep-
tre and ears of corn. Matt.-Syd. No. 17. 97 A. D.
⌘ 3.18.

150-152. Same.

℞ LIBERTAS PUBLICA Libertas l., with
pileus and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 19. 97 A. D.
⌘ 3.14, 3.11, 3.45.

153-154. Same.

℞ SALVS PVBLICA Salus seated l. with corn-
ears. Matt.-Syd. No. 20. 97 A. D. ⌘ 3.49, 3.38.

155-158. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR
POT Head r. laur.

℞ COS III PATER PATRIAE Priestly emblems.

Matt.-Syd. No. 24. 97 A. D. \mathfrak{A} 3.19, 3.32, 3.30, 3.32.

159. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR P II COS III PP Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} AEQUITAS AVG Aequitas l. with scales and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 25. 97 A. D. \mathfrak{A} 3.10.

160. Same.

\mathfrak{R} CONCORDIA EXER[CITVVM] Clasped hands, holding legionary eagle, resting on prow. Matt.-Syd. No. 27. 97 A. D. \mathfrak{A} 3.29.

161. Same.

\mathfrak{R} FORTUNA AVGVST Fortuna holding rudder and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 28. 97 A. D. \mathfrak{A} 3.22.

162. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR POT II Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} COS III PATER PATRIAE Priestly emblems. Matt.-Syd. No. 34. 97 A. D. \mathfrak{A} 3.59.

TRAJAN 98-117

163. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM Head r. laur.

\mathfrak{R} PM TRP COS II PP Concordia seated before altar with patera and double cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. II, p. 245, No. 2; Strack, 21. 98-9. \mathfrak{A} 3.25.

164. Same.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Pax l. with olive branch and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 6; Strack, 24. 98-9. \mathfrak{A} 3.00.

165 and 166. Same.

℞ Same. Vesta seated l. holding patera and torch. Matt.-Syd. No. 9; Strack, 27. 98-9.

⌘ 2.92, 2.74.

167.* Same.

℞ PONT MAX TRPOT COS II Abundantia seated l. on chair, arms of which are crossed cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 11; Strack, 15. 98-9.

⌘ 3.08.

168-170. Same.

℞ Same. Concordia seated l. holding patera and double cornucopiae; before her, an altar. Matt.-Syd. No. 12; Strack, 10. 98-9. ⌘ 3.05, 3.24, 3.44.

171 and 172. Same.

℞ Same. Vesta seated l. holding patera and torch. Matt.-Syd. No. 21; Strack, 16. 98-9.

⌘ 3.32, 2.88.

173. Same.

℞ Same. Victory seated l., holding patera and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 22; Strack, 20. 98-9.

⌘ 3.14.

174.* Same.

℞ PM TRP COS III PP Abundantia seated on chair, arms of which are crossed cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 32; Strack, 34. 100 A. D. ⌘ 3.29.

175. Same.

℞ Same. Concordia seated l. with patera and double cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 33; Strack, 29. 100 A. D. ⌘ 2.85.

176. Same. Head r. laur. and aegis.

℞ Same. Pax standing l. with olive branch and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 38 (But Matt. mentions no aegis on obv.); Strack, 33. 100 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 2.58.

177-179. Same without aegis on obverse. \mathfrak{R} 2.70 (broken), 2.89, 3.15.

180-182. Same. (181 has aegis on obv.)

℞ Same. Victory seated l. holding patera and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 41; Strack, 38. 100 A. D. \mathfrak{R} 2.83, 2.81, 2.67.

183* and **184.** Same. (183 has aegis.)

℞ PM TRP COS IIII PP Hercules standing front on altar, holding club and lion's skin. Matt.-Syd. No. 49; Strack, 40. 101-2. \mathfrak{R} 2.99, 2.81.

185. Same.

℞ Same. Pax l., with cornucopiae and olive branch. Matt.-Syd. No. 56; Strack, Anhang iv, 14. 101-2. \mathfrak{R} 3.20.

186-188. Same. (188 has aegis on obv.)

℞ Same. Victory standing front, head l., half-draped, holding wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 58; Strack, 48. 101-2. \mathfrak{R} 2.13, 3.00, 3.04.

189-192. Same. (192 with aegis.)

℞ Same. Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 60; Strack, 49. 101-2. \mathfrak{R} 2.49 (broken), 3.02, 2.88, 2.85.

193. Same. (aegis.)

℞ Same. Victory walking r., head l, holding

wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 64; Strack, 48.
101-2. \mathfrak{A} 3.18.

194. Same. (aegis.)

\mathfrak{R} Same. Victory standing l. at altar, holding wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 67; Strack, 47.
101-2. \mathfrak{A} 3.01.

195. Same. (dr. l. s.) IMP TRAIANO AVG
GER DAC PM TRP.

\mathfrak{R} AET AVG (across field); COS V PP SPQR
OPTIMO PRINC Aeternitas standing holding
heads representing the sun and moon. Matt.-Syd.
No. 91; Strack, 154. 103-III. \mathfrak{A} 2.98.

196-201.* Same. (dr. l. s.)

\mathfrak{R} DAC CAP (in ex.) COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO
PRINC Dacian seated l. on pile of arms. Cf.
Matt.-Syd. No. 96, where he is seated r. only. So
also Cohen, No. 118; Strack, 157. 103-III. \mathfrak{A} 2.98,
2.87, 3.02, 3.00, 3.16, 2.85.

202-205. Same. (dr. l. s.)

\mathfrak{R} DANVVIVS (in ex.) COS V PP SPQR OP-
TIMO PRINC The Danube reclining l. on rocks;
above, cloak floating; his l. arm resting on urn; r.
on ship's prow. Matt.-Syd. No. 100; Strack, 159.
103-III. \mathfrak{A} 2.69, 3.19, 2.89, 2.94.

206 and 207. Same. (dr. l. s.)

\mathfrak{R} PAX (in ex.) COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO
PRINC Pax standing l. with cornucopiae, setting
fire to pile of shields. Matt.-Syd. No. 102; Strack,
160. 103-III. \mathfrak{A} 2.92, 2.64 (broken).

208 and 209. Same. (dr. l. s.)

℞ PIET (in ex.) same inscr. Pietas veiled, standing l. by altar, holding patera and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 104; Strack, 161. 103-II. Ɱ 2.92, 2.88.

210. Same. (dr. l. s.)

℞ COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC Mars walking l. holding a Victory and trophy. Matt.-Syd. No. 114; Strack, 124. 103-II. Ɱ 1.67.

211. Same. (dr. l. s.)

℞ Same. Roma standing l., holding Victory and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 115; Strack, 133. 103-II. Ɱ 2.94.

212-213. Same. (dr. l. s.)

℞ Same. Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 116; Strack, 132. 103-II. Ɱ 3.07, 3.15.

214*-219. Same. Head laur. r. draped.

℞ Same. Aequitas standing l. holding cornucopiae and scales. Matt.-Syd. No. 118 (gives only *N* for this type); Strack, 144. 103-II. Ɱ 2.59, 3.07, 2.95, 2.76, 2.88, 3.02.

220-221. Same.

℞ Same. Aequitas seated l. with scales and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 119; Strack, 145. 103-II. Ɱ 3.00, 2.95.

222-224. Same.

℞ Same. Felicitas standing l. holding caduceus and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 121; Strack, 147. 103-II. Ɱ 2.84, 2.88, 2.54 (clipped).

225-227. Same.

℞ Same. Draped female figures (Spes) standing

l. holding patera in r., drapery in l. Matt.-Syd. No. 127; Strack, 151. 103-II. ⌘ 3.02, 2.95, 3.12.

228. Same.

⌘ Same. Fortuna standing l. holding cornucopiae and rudder on prow. Matt.-Syd. No. 122; Strack, 149. 103-II. ⌘ 3.01.

229 and 230. Same.

⌘ Same. Pax standing l. leaning on a column, holding olive-branch. Matt.-Syd. No. 126; Strack, 148. 103-II. ⌘ 2.82, 3.20.

231*-235. Same.

⌘ Same. Victory fully draped standing l. holding wreath and palm. Not in Matt.-Syd. or Cohen. 103-II. ⌘ 2.92, 2.79, 3.13, 3.28, 2.59. The fully draped figure is apparently unique.

236-241. Same.

⌘ Same. Victory half-draped l. holding wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 128; Strack, 128. 103-II. ⌘ 2.92, 2.75, 3.03, 3.20, 2.82, 2.95.

242. Same.

⌘ Same. Victory fully draped standing l. on two shields. Matt.-Syd. No. 129; Strack, 127. 103-II. ⌘ 2.75.

243-246. Same.

⌘ Same. Victory r., inscribing on a shield fixed to a trophy:

DA/CI/CA in three lines

Matt.-Syd. No. 130; Strack, 131. 103-II. ⌘ 2.54, 2.90, 3.02, 3.11.

247. Same.

℞ Same. Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm. Matt.-Syd. No. 131; Strack, 126. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 3.00.

248-250. Same.

℞ Same. Arabia standing l., holding branch and bundle of cinnamon sticks; at her feet, a camel l. Matt.-Syd. No. 142; Strack, 153. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 2.93, 2.89, 2.77.

251.* Same.

℞ Same. Trophy of arms: one round and two hexagonal shields; at base, two javelins and round shield on l.; two swords and hexagonal shield on r. Cf. Matt.-Syd. No. 147b, from which this and the six following coins present some interesting variations. Strack, 140. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 2.97.

252.* Same.

℞ Same. At base, javelin on either side; at l., hexagonal, at r., round shield. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 2.81.

253 and 254. Same.

℞ Same. At base, at r., two javelins and hexagonal shield; at l., sword and round shield. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 3.03, 3.09.

255. Same.

℞ Same. At base, on l., two javelins and hexagonal shield; r., two swords and round shield. 103-11. \mathfrak{A} 2.99.

256 and 257. Same.

℞ Same. At base, sword and round shield; r.,

two javelins and hexagonal shield. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 3.07, 2.97.

258. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS V PP Bust draped r., Aegis.

\mathfrak{R} S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI Mars nude, walking r., holding spear and trophy. Matt.-Syd. No. 156. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 2.54.

259. Same inscr.

\mathfrak{R} Same inscr. Bust draped, r.

Same. Mars r. holding spear, and resting on shield. Matt.-Syd. No. 161; Strack, 88. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 2.52.

260. Same.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Aequitas l. holding scales and double cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 169; Strack, 101. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 2.99.

261. Same.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Pax seated l., holding branch and sceptre; at feet, kneeling Dacian. Matt.-Syd. No. 187; Strack, 94. \mathfrak{A} 3.09. 103-II.

262 and 263. Same (aegis).

\mathfrak{R} Same. Felicitas standing l. before altar holding caduceus and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 173. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 3.18, 3.32.

264. Same (aegis).

\mathfrak{R} Same. Dacia seated r. in mournful attitude on shield; beneath, curved sword. Matt.-Syd. No. 218. 103-II. \mathfrak{A} 3.09.

265-267. Same (aegis).

\mathfrak{R} Same. Dacia seated r. at foot of trophy.

Matt.-Syd. No. 220; Strack, 85. 103-11. A 2.84, 3.00, 2.79.

268. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER PM TRP COS V DES VI [PP] Bust r. dr. (aegis).

R Same. in ex.: VESTA. Vesta seated l. with palladium and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No. 237. 111 A. D. A 2.80.

269. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS VI PP Head r. dr. (aegis)

R S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI In ex.: ALIM ITAL Abundantia standing l. holding ears of corn and cornucopiae; at her feet, a child standing. Matt.-Syd. No. 243; Strack, 172-3. 112-4. A 2.81.

270. Same.

R Same. In ex.: ARAB ADQ Arabia standing front, head l., holding forth in r. a branch, in l., a bunch of cinnamon sticks; at her feet, an ostrich. Matt.-Syd. No. 244; Strack, 174. 112-4. A 3.06.

271. Same.

R Same. In ex.: PAX Pax standing l. with cornucopiae, setting fire to pile of shields. Matt.-Syd. No. 259; Strack, 176. 112-4. A 2.81.

272. Same. Head r., undraped.

R Same. In ex.: VESTA. Vesta seated l., holding palladium and sceptre. Matt.-Syd. No 265. 112-4. A 2.61.

273. Same. Head r., both shoulders draped.

R SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI Mars nude, walking r. with spear and trophy. Matt.-Syd. No. 269; Strack, 187. 112-4. A 2.89.

274 and 275. Same.

℞ Same. Felicitas l. with caduceus and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 271; Strack, 186. 112-4. \mathfrak{R} 2.81, 2.88.

276 and 277. Same.

℞ Same. Genius standing r., holding patera and ears of corn. Matt.-Syd. No. 275; Strack, 184. 112-4. \mathfrak{R} 2.74, 2.91.

278.* Same.

℞ Same. Trajan on horseback l., holding a Victory and spear. Matt.-Syd. No. 291; Strack, 196. 112-4. \mathfrak{R} 2.86.

279-283. Same. (Bust r. laur. dr. and cuir.)

℞ Same. Eagle between two standards. Cf. Matt.-Syd. No. 296, who gives this type only for \mathfrak{N} ; Strack, 195. \mathfrak{R} 2.84, 3.02, 2.83, 2.79, 3.23.

284-285* and 286. IMP TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P Bust r. laur. draped.

℞ COS VI PP SPQR Genius standing l., holding patera and ears of corn. Matt.-Syd. No. 303; Strack, 222. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 3.04, 2.80, 3.38.

287. IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GER DAC Head laur. r. dr.

℞ FORT RED (in ex.) [] VI PP SPQR Fortuna seated l., holding rudder and cornucopiae. Cf. Matt.-Syd. Nos. 315 or 317; Strack, 257. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 2.84.

288. IMP TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC [PM TR P] Head r. laur. dr.

℞ FORT RED (in ex.) COS VI PP SPQR

Fortuna seated l., holding cornucopiae and rudder. Matt.-Syd. No. 308; Strack, 221. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 2.61.

289. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC Head r. laur. dr.

\mathfrak{R} PM TRP COS V SPQR Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae. Matt.-Syd. No. 343; Strack, 228. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 2.81.

290. Same. (dr. and cuir.)

\mathfrak{R} Same. FORT RED (in ex.) Fortuna seated l. holding cornucopiae and rudder. Matt.-Syd. No. 319 (gives only \mathfrak{N} for this combination). 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 2.85.

291 and 292. Same. (dr. and cuir.)

\mathfrak{R} PM TRP COS VI PP SPQR Mars walking r. with spear and trophy (?). Matt.-Syd. No. 337; Strack, 230. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 2.92, 2.70.

293 and 294. Same. dr. and cuir. r.

\mathfrak{R} Same. Trajan's column surmounted by statue; on base, two eagles. Matt.-Syd. No. 356; Strack, 234. 114-7. \mathfrak{R} 3.52, 2.69.

MATIDIA

295.* Bust r. draped. MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MAR[CIANAE F].

\mathfrak{R} PIETAS [AVG]VST Matidia standing facing, head l., placing her hands on the heads of Sabina and Matidia the younger. Matt.-Syd. No. 759. \mathfrak{R} 2.32 (broken).

MINT OF CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA

TRAJAN

296. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣ ΝΕΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ [ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ]
Head r. laur.

℞ ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞ ΥΠΑΤ Γ Head of Zeus Ammon
r., bearded and horned. B. M. C. Gal., etc. p. 53,
no. 56. 100 A. D. ⱻ quinarius 1.58.

297* and **298.*** Same. Larger flan.

℞ Same. Denarius. 100 A. D. ⱻ 3.51, 3.35.

299. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΚΑΙΣ ΝΕΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ
ΔΑΚ Head r., laur.

℞ ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΕϚ ΥΠΑΤ Ϛ Arabia standing
front, looking l., in her r., a branch, in l., a sword in
sheath (?); in front, camel. B. M. C. Gal. etc., p. 54,
No. 64. 112 A. D. ⱻ denarius 2.05 (hole).

300. Coin of Caesarea stuck to broken piece of
coin of Rhodes, v. No. 5 supra. ⱻ.

† The letter vau, Greek numeral for six.

NOTES

¹ Tac. Ann. II, 59, 4: Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana seposuit Aegyptum.

² Mitteis-Wilcken, Papyruskunde, I, 1 (Grundzüge) p. lxvi. Segré, Metrologia e Circolazione, p. 417.

³ Milne, in Annals of Arch. and Anthropol. VII, p. 52.

⁴ Quoted by Milne, l. c., in 1914; the records of the Amer. Numis. Society fail to show any finds of importance since then to the present date.

⁵ Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, I, p. 272 ff.

⁶ Segré, op. cit. p. 417.

⁷ B. V. Head, in B. M. Cat., Caria p. cxiv. f.

⁸ Wilcken, U., Papyruskunde, I, 1, p. lxv; id. Griechische Ostraka, I, p. 728.

⁹ Heichelheim, Fritz, Zu Pap. Bad. 37, ein Beitrag zur römischen Geldgeschichte unter Trajan, in Klio, 25, (1932) pp. 124-131. This article was called to the writer's attention by Mr. Newell.

¹⁰ P. L. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Teil I, Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Trajan. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1931.

EGYPTIAN HOARD

PLATE I



7



15



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— 6 —



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EGYPTIAN HOARD



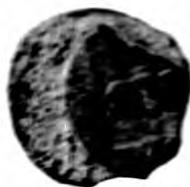
36



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PLATE II



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74



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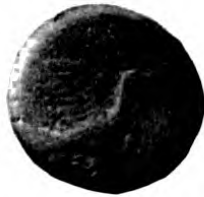


EGYPTIAN HOARD

PLATE I



7



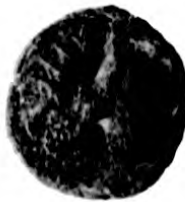
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23



—6—



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EGYPTIAN HOARD



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PLATE II



62



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EGYPTIAN HOARD



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201



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PLATE III



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35
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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 55



THE THIRD AND FOURTH
DURA HOARDS

BY

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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THE THIRD AND FOURTH DURA HOARDS

BY
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THE THIRD AND FOURTH DURA HOARDS

At the beginning of November, 1930, the excavation of Dura-Europos was renewed with the clearing of the Priests' House, adjoining the temples of Artemis and Atargatis, which had been partially dug the season before. In it were found two small jars containing Roman silver coins and nearby one mass of metal which also proved to be silver coins that had been buried in a bag. These last Mr. Newell has kindly undertaken to publish himself; the two other collections are dealt with in this paper.¹ There is every reason to believe that the two jars were part of a single hoard. They were found with their mouths opposite each other, almost touching, and the limits of the series are practically the same—Nero and Diadumenianus in one case, Vitellius and Macrinus in the other. Nevertheless, for the sake of entire accuracy, they are listed separately with a summary of the combined hoard at the end. Considering their proximity, it is curious that the color of the pieces was quite different, so that

¹ The two hoards unearthed in the Campaign of 1928-29 have already been published in this series. (*Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 49, 1931.)

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one could tell at a glance to which group any given coin belonged. All were covered with a thick corrosion due to the large proportion of copper in the alloy, but in the case of Hoard IV this was a much more yellowish green than in the case of Hoard III, perhaps because two bronze coins, now illegible, were in the jar with Hoard IV. As the pieces adhered to each other it was not practicable to weigh them before cleaning; the weights of the denarii after cleaning show no significant variation from the standard. Only the weights of the tetradrachms are recorded.

The hoards cannot have been buried before 218 because of the presence of coins of Macrinus and his son. On the other hand, there are none of the very common coins of Elagabalus issued in 219. The general confusion of the time may have been a sufficient reason for the burial. We know of no particular crisis at Dura, and the contents of Hoards I and II, beginning with Caracalla and continuing without interruption to Gallienus, lead one to think that this treasure may have been due to the miserliness of a particular priest rather than to any civil peril.

It is surprising and somewhat disappointing to find no denarii from the mint of Antioch earlier than the single coin of Pescennius Niger. That mint was certainly used by Vespasian, and occasional coins both of Trajan and Hadrian appear to have been struck there. One would expect to

find a few of these in a hoard so much nearer to Antioch than to Rome, but such is not the case. There is, to be sure, one barbarous piece of Antoninus Pius (III, No. 145, Pl. III) but otherwise nothing which there is any excuse for attributing to the east. With Septimius Severus and his family, however, the case is different. Antioch furnishes 55 of the denarii of Severus, as against Rome's 37, and 4 each of Julia Domna and Caracalla come from the eastern mint. The only method of distinguishing these issues is by style and it must be confessed that, at a period when the style is never of the best, it is not always easy to make up one's mind.

Perhaps the best way to begin is with a comparison of specimens clearly typical of the two mints. IV, No. 56 (Pl. XII) may be taken as an example of Antioch; IV, Nos. 98, 99 (Pl. XIV), of Rome. There are three chief distinguishing marks of the Antiochene denarii: (1) the large, rough and uneven lettering, (2) the clumsy treatment of the eye, (3) the bad proportions of the standing figure, which is usually too short. In contrast with this, the Roman coins show more refinement, even the face of the standing figure being cut with considerable delicacy. These distinctions are not always so clear, but they are useful for general guidance. Plate XV shows an instructive comparison between IV, No. 111 from Antioch and No. 112 of the same type but

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probably from Rome. Unfortunately the reverse of the latter is not well enough preserved to be satisfactory, but the Roman style of Julia Domna appears clearly on No. 116. Differences are more elusive in the case of Caracalla. IV, Nos. 147 and 150 (Pl. XVIII) show the usual features of Rome and Antioch respectively, but IV, No. 158 (Pl. XVIII) and IV, No. 159 (Pl. XIX) illustrate the difficulty of deciding in some cases. The obverse of the former is clearly inferior in the drawing of the head and certainly no more than equal in the lettering; we should incline to attribute it to the inferior mint. But with the reverses the advantage is the other way. The sprawling letters of IV, No. 159, particularly the final G's, look more like Antioch than Rome. However, since the obverse of IV, No. 158 is better than that of IV, No. 146, and the reverse of IV, No. 159 better than that of IV, No. 147, both the FELICITAS AVGG pieces are attributed to Rome.

Since Mattingly and Sydenham's invaluable *Roman Imperial Coinage* has not reached the period after Commodus, one must still rely on Cohen, with some assistance from Platnauer *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus* and Mary Williams' article on Julia Domna in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. VI, 3 (July-September, 1902).²

² Mr. Mattingly has been good enough to read the MS and has given me the benefit of many valuable suggestions.

There is only one type of Severus which requires comment. IV Nos. 105, 106 show Jupiter between infants who are generally supposed to be Caracalla and Geta. But, if Caracalla was born in 188 (Platnauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–53) and Geta in 189, the elder brother was 22, the younger 21 in 210, when IV, No. 105 was struck, and IV, No. 106 is a year later. Could they without too great absurdity, be represented as infants? Is this the mere conventional repetition of a group originating earlier, or has it a significance that has escaped us?

Cohen refers to Ramus, in the catalogue of coins in the Museum of Denmark, a general division of the coins of Julia Domna into three classes: the earliest, inscribed IVLIA DOMNA AVG; the second, inscribed IVLIA AVGVSTA; and the third, inscribed IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. I have assumed that the first group belongs to the earlier years of her husband's reign, 193–196. All of our pieces with IVLIA DOMNA AVG are clearly from Antioch, except IV, No. 112 which I consider one of the first issues of the Roman mint. The simple title IVLIA AVGVSTA I should assign to the remainder of Severus' reign. The third group, which probably continues until the time of her death may begin as early as 198. Cohen (4, pp. 137–139) gives examples of her coins struck with her husband

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on which she appears as PIA FELIX;³ the reverses date them between 198 and 204. Cohen No. 69 (quoted from Rollin) a hybrid with IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG and FORT RED TRP III COS II (195) may be dismissed as spurious. Julia's own types give no indication of date until her latter years. Our IV, No. 129 with MAT AVGG MAT SEN M PATR must be between 209, the date of Geta's elevation, and 212, the date of his death. It probably comes in the uneasy year between Septimius Severus' death and Geta's murder.

We have two denarii of Caracalla (IV, Nos. 146, 147) issued from Antioch in his youth, one in 197, the other in 198. These, and presumably other types not represented here, belong to the output of that mint in the early years of his father's reign. After 198 Rome alone seems to have been used as long as Severus lived. But there are two later pieces of Caracalla (IV, Nos. 148, 149) which appear to be from the east. On the former (Pl. XVII) the inscription MARTI PROPVGANATORI (sic) at once suggests Antioch, where errors in Latin inscriptions are common (Platnauer, *op. cit.*, p. 35); the style of the latter (Pl. XVIII) is equally indicative. Comparison of IV, No. 148 with IV, No. 165 (Pl. XIX) which has the correct reading MARTI PRO-

³ Mattingly believes that these were all struck under Caracalla.

PVGNATORI will show that the differences are slight, it is true, but I believe we are justified in holding that in 211 Caracalla began again the striking of denarii at Antioch. It would be quite consistent with his general policy in the east. Neither hoard has any specimens of the Antoniniani which he introduced to check the depreciation of the denarius.

The tridrachm of Trajan from Caesarea in Cappadocia (IV, No. 3) is unlike anything previously found at Dura. A few of the abundant bronzes of Caesarea have turned up, but no more of the silver.

Before the discovery of these hoards the earliest tetradrachms found had been those of Caracalla; we now have a good piece of Marcus Aurelius and several of Septimius Severus; Hoard V, which Mr. Newell is publishing, contains still earlier tetradrachms. The coin of Marcus Aurelius is particularly interesting not only because it is a rare variety but because it represents the mint of Antioch during a period when, for some reason, its coins did not penetrate to Dura, or, at least, have not been found there. It rather emphasizes than explains that curious lacuna.

The tetradrachms of Severus and his sons attributed to Antioch are of two distinct styles. There is the type of the eagle on the leg and thigh (III, No. 197, Pl. VI; IV, No. 132, Pl. XVI) together with that having stars to right and left

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of the eagle's head (IV, No. 138, Pl. XVII; IV, No. 173, Pl. XX). On these the eagle's head is right and the wing feathers are represented by solid dots; the bend of the left wing is slightly higher and slightly sharper than that of the right. On the other hand, the pieces bearing a star between the eagle's legs (IV, No. 40, Pl. XI; IV, No. 135, Pl. XVI; IV, No. 172, Pl. XX) have the head left; the right wing is much higher than the left and the under wing coverts are represented by circles or semi-circles with a central dot. The two styles cannot, however, be the product of different mints, for there are intermediate examples. IV, No. 140 (Pl. XVII), with a star between the eagle's legs, has the wings as nearly even as on the coins with the leg and thigh, while on IV, No. 139 (too badly corroded to be illustrated) the leg and thigh are combined with the circle and dot technique for the wing coverts. The two tetradrachms of Caracalla with the thunderbolt (IV, Nos. 141, 142) are in too bad condition to furnish any ground for argument.

The other mints represented have already been discussed in connection with the first two hoards.

HOARD III

NERO

DENARIVS

ROME 64-68

1. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Head r.,
laur.
Rev. IVPITER CVSTOS. Jupiter seated
l., holding scepter and thunderbolt.
(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 208, Nos. 74-76. Pl.
39.20.)

GALBA

DENARII

ROME 68/69

2. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG. Head
r., laur.
Rev. DIVA AVGVSTA. Livia standing l.,
holding patera and scepter.
(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 310, Nos. 8, 9. Cf. Pl.
52.3.)
3. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG. Head
r., laur.
Rev. SALVS GEN HVMANI. Female fig-
ure standing l., r. foot on globe,
sacrificing out of patera over lighted
altar and holding upright rudder.
(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 315, Nos. 40, 41. Pl.
52.20.) *Plate I*

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VITELLIVS

DENARII

ROME 69

4. A VITELLIVS GERM IMP AVG TRP.

Head r., laur.

Rev. LIBERTAS RESTITVTA. Libertas standing r., holding pileus and long scepter.

(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 372, Nos. 31, 32. Pl. 61.8.) *Plate I*

LUGDUNUM 69

5. A VITELLIVS IMP GERMAN. Head r., laur., globe beneath neck.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. Victory advancing l., holding shield inscribed SPQR.

(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 393, No. 125. Pl. 62.11.)

VESPASIAN

DENARII

ROME 69/70

6. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.

Head r., laur.

Rev. COS ITER TR POT. Pax seated l., holding branch and caduceus.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 4, Nos. 26–30. Pl. 1.9.) *Plate I*

7. Same.

Rev. IVDAEA (in ex.). Jewess seated r. on
ground, mourning; behind her trophy.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 6, Nos. 35-42. Pl.
1.12.)

70/71

8, 9. IMP CAES VESP AVG PM. Head r.,
laur.

Rev. AVGVR (above) TRI POT (below).
Simpulum, sprinkler, jug and lituus.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 9, Nos. 50-53. Pl.
1.18.)

72/73

10. Same.

Rev. TRI POT (across field). Vesta seated
l., holding simpulum.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 10, Nos. 57-59. Pl.
1.20.) *Plate I*

11. IMP CAES VESP AVG PM COS IIII.
Head r., laur.

Rev. AVGVR (above) TRI POT (below).
Simpulum, sprinkler, jug and lituus.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 11, No. 64.)

12. Same.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. Victory ad-
vancing r., holding palm and about
to place wreath on trophy.
(*B.M.C.*, II, pp. 13, 14, Nos. 75-77.
Pl. 2.8,9.)

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73

- 13, 14. IMP CAES VESP AVG CENS (beginning low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. PONTIF MAXIM. Vespasian seated r., holding branch and scepter.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 19, No. 98. Pl. 3.3.)

Plate I

74

15. IMP CAESAR VESP AVG (beginning low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. PON MAX TRP COS V. Winged caduceus.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 25, No. 137. Pl. 4.3.)

75

- 16–18. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG (beginning low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. PON MAX TRP COS VI. Pax seated l., holding branch.
(*B.M.C.*, II, pp. 30, 31, Nos. 161–164. Pl. 4.20.)

76

- 19, 20. Same.

Rev. COS VII Eagles standing on garlanded base, head l.
(*B.M.C.*, p. 34, Nos. 180–182. Pl. 5.14.)

21. Same.
Rev. PON MAX TRP COS VII. Victory
 standing l., on prow holding wreath
 and palm.
 (Not in B.M., *R.I.C.*, II, p. 25, No.
 100.) *Plate I*

77/78

22. Same.
Rev. COS VIII. Mars standing l., holding
 spear and trophy.
 (*B.M.C.*, II, p. 37, Nos. 200–202. Pl.
 6.4.)

23. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG (beginning
 low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.
Rev. IMP XIX (in ex.). Sow l., with three
 young.
 (*B.M.C.*, II, p. 39, Nos. 212, 213. Pl.
 6.13.)

24. Same.
Rev. IMP XIX (across field). Modius,
 standing on three legs, containing
 five ears of corn upright and two
 hanging over at the sides.
 (*B.M.C.*, II, p. 39, No. 216. Pl. 6.15.)

75–79

25. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG (be-
 ginning low r., outwardly). Head r.,
 laur.

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Rev. IOVIS CVSTOS. Jupiter standing l.,
sacrificing out of patera over altar
and holding scepter.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 49, Nos. 276–278. Pl.
8.11.)

78/79

26–29. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG (be-
ginning low r., outwardly). Head r.,
laur.

Rev. ANNONA AVG. Annona seated l.,
holding corn ears in lap.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 51, Nos. 295, 296. Pl.
9.1.)

80/81

30. DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS (be-
ginning low r., outwardly). Head r.,
laur.

Rev. SC on shield supported by two capri-
corns; below, a globe.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 245, No. 132. Pl. 47.9.)

TITUS

DENARIUS

ROME

75

31. T CAESAR IMP VESPASIAN (beginning
low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. PONTIF TR P COS IIII. Pax seated
l., holding branch.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 32, No. 172. Pl. 5.8.)

Plate I

DOMITIAN

DENARII

ROME 74

32. CAES AVG F DOMIT COS III (beginning
low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. PRINCEPS IVVENTVT. Spes ad-
vancing l., holding flower and raising
skirt.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 29, No. 156. Pl. 4.16.)

76

33. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS (be-
ginning low r., outwardly). Head r., laur.

Rev. COS IIII. Pegasus walking r.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 36, Nos. 193–195. Pl.
6.1.)

79

34. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS COS VI
(beginning low r., outwardly). Head r.,
laur.

Rev. PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS. Salus
standing r., leaning on column and
feeding snake.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 47, Nos. 265, 266. Pl.
8.6.)

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80

35. CAESAR DIVI F DOMITIANVS COS VII
(beginning low r., outwardly). Head r.,
laur.

Rev. PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS. Goat
standing l. in laurel wreath.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 239, Nos. 88–90. Pl.
46.9.) *Plate I*

90

36. IM CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TR
P VIII. Head r., laur.

Rev. IMP XXI COS XV CENS PPP.
Minerva r. on prow, brandishing
javelin and holding shield; at her
feet, owl.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 333, No. 166. Pl.
64.20.)

92

37. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM
TRP XI. Head r., laur.

Rev. IMP XXI COS XVI CENS PPP.
Minerva standing l. with spear.

(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 333, No. 168. Pl. 65.2.)

NERVA

DENARIUS

ROME

96 or 97

38. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TRP (or
TRP II) COS II (or III) PP. Head r.,
laur.

Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. Libertas standing l., holding pileus and scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 223, No. 7 or p. 224, No. 19 or p. 225, No. 31. Pl. VII, 118 (rev.).) *Plate I*

TRAJAN

DENARII

ROME 98/99

39. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM. Head r., laur.

Rev. PONT MAX TR POT COS II. Abundantia seated l., holding scepter, on chair with crossed cornucopiae as arms; fold of drapery over lap.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 245, No. 11.)

40. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Concordia seated l., holding patera and double cornucopiae; before her an altar.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 245, No. 12.)

41. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 245, No. 13.) *Plate II*

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101-102

42. Same.

Rev. PM TRP COS IIII PP. Mars walking r. with spear and trophy.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 248, No. 52.)

43, 44. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Victory standing r. on prow ending in serpent, holding wreath and palm.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 248, No. 59.)

45, 46. Same.

Rev. PM TRP COS IIII PP. Victory walking l. with wreath and palm.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 248, No. 60.)

103-111

47. IMP NERVA TRAIANVS AVG GERM DACICVS. Head r., laur., drapery over l. shoulder.

Rev. PM TRP COS V PP. Dacian seated r. on shield in attitude of mourning.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 250, No. 89 has "below, curved sword.") *Plate II*

48-51. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP. Head r., laur. drapery over l. shoulder.

Rev. DAC CAP (in ex.) COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC (around). Da-

cian seated l., mourning; various
arms on ground.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p 251, No. 98.)

52-54. Same.

Rev. COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC.

Roma standing l. with spear and
Victory.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 252, No. 115.)

55, 56. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Roma seated l.,
holding spear and Victory.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 252, No. 116.)

57-61. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Aequitas standing
l., holding scales and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 252, No. 118, given only
as gold.) *Plate II*

62. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing
l., holding caduceus and leaning on
column.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 252, No. 120.)

63. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Spes walking l.,
holding flower and raising skirt.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 253, No. 127 has *obv.*
Head draped. Pl. VIII, 138 (rev.).)

Plate II

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64. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Victory standing l., half draped, holding wreath and palm.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 253, No. 128.)

65, 66. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Victory walking l. with wreath and palm.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 253, No. 131.)

67. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Trophy with one round and two hexagonal shields; at base, a sword, two javelins and two shields.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 254, No. 147 b has *obv.* Head draped.)

68. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS V PP. Head r., laur., drapery over l. shoulder.

Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 256, No. 172.)

69. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Pax standing l., holding olive branch and cornucopiae, foot on Dacian.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 257, No. 190 a has *obv.* with aegis. Pl. VIII, 144 (rev.).)

70. Same inscription. Head r., laur., drapery on l. shoulder.

Rev. Same inscription. Spes advancing l., holding flower and raising skirt.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 257, No. 191.) *Plate II*

111

71. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS V DES VI. Head r., laur., drapery on l. shoulder.

Rev. Same inscription. Victory standing r.; foot on helmet; she inscribes DACICA on shield attached to palm tree.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 259, No. 234.) *Plate II*

112-114

- 72-74. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TRP COS VI PP. Head r., laur., drapery over l. shoulder.

Rev. Same inscription. Abundantia standing l., holding ears of corn and cornucopiae; at her feet child standing, holding roll. ALIM ITAL (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 261, No. 243. Pl. IX.156 (rev.).)

75. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Mars, nude, walking r. with spear and trophy.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 263, No. 270.)

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76, 77. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae. (R.I.C., II, p. 263, No. 272.)

78. Same inscription. Head r., laur., draped.

Rev. Same inscription. Trajan's column surmounted by statue of the emperor; at base, two eagles. (R.I.C., II, p. 264, No. 292.)

114-117

79. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC. Head r., laur., draped.

Rev. PM TRP COS VI PP SPQR. Fortuna seated l., holding rudder and cornucopiae. FORT RED (in ex.). (R.I.C., II, p. 267, No. 318.)

80. IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC. Head r., laur., draped.

Rev. PARTHICO PM TRP COS VI PP SPQR. Mars walking r. with spear and trophy. (R.I.C., II, p. 267, No. 331.)

81. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae. (R.I.C., II, p. 268, No. 332.) *Plate II*

82-85. IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIMO
AVG GERM DAC. Head r., laur.,
draped.

Rev. Same inscription. Virtus standing r.,
holding spear and parazonium; foot
on helmet.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 268, No. 334.)

86. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO
AVG GER DAC. Head r., laur., draped.

Rev. PM TRP COS VI PP SPQR. Mars
walking r. with spear and trophy.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 268, No. 337.)

87. Same inscription. Head r., laur., drapery
over l. shoulder.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing
l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 268, No. 343 has *obv.*
Head draped.) *Plate II*

88. Same inscription. Bust r., laur., draped, in
cuirass.

Rev. Same.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 268, No. 344.) *Plate II*

89. IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG
GER DAC PARTHICO. Head r., laur.,
draped.

Rev. PRO VID (across field) PM TRP
COS VI PP SPQR (around). Provi-

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dentia standing l., holding scepter
and pointing at globe.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 269, No. 365.)

HADRIAN

DENARII

ROME 117

90. IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO AVG
DIVI TRA. Bust r., laur., in cuirass.
Rev. PARTH F DIVI NER NEP PM
TRP COS. Justitia seated l., hold-
ing patera and scepter. IVSTITIA
(in ex.).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 340, No. 11.)
91. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Pietas veiled stand-
ing l., raising r. hand.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 340, No. 13.) *Plate II*

118

92. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS
AVG. Head r., laur., drapery over l.
shoulder.
Rev. PM TRP COS II (or III which would
be 119–122). Concord seated l.
CONCORD (in ex.).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 345, No. 39 or p. 354,
No. 118.)

93. Same.

Rev. PM TRP COS II. Pietas standing l.,
veiled, raising r. hand. PIETAS
(in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 345, No. 45.)

119-122

94. Same.

Rev. PM TRP COS III. Mars advancing
r., holding spear and trophy.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 348, No. 67.)

95, 96. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Roma, helmeted,
seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory
and spear, behind, shield.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 349, No. 77.)

97, 98. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Aequitas standing
l., holding scales and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 350, No. 80.)

99. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Hadrian standing
l., holding rudder on globe, and spear.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 353, No. 110. Pl. XII,
232 (*rev.*).) *Plate III*

100. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas seated l.,
holding caduceus and cornucopiae.
FEL PR (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 354, No. 120.)

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101. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Libertas seated l.,
holding branch and scepter. LIB
PVB (in ex.).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 355, No. 127.)
102. Same inscription. Head r., laur., drapery
over l. shoulder.
Rev. Same inscription. Providentia stand-
ing l., pointing to globe at her feet
and holding scepter. PRO AVG
(in field).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 356, No. 133.)
- 103, 104. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Salus seated l.,
feeding snake coiled around altar.
SAL AVG (in ex.).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 356, No. 137.)
105. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Pietas, veiled, stand-
ing r., raising both hands. VOT
PVB (in field).
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 357, No. 141.)

125-128

106. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head r.,
laur., drapery over l. shoulder.
Rev. COS III. Hercules seated r. on
cuirass, holding Victory and club
which rests on shield.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 358, No. 148.) *Plate III*

107. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP. Head
r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Minerva standing
r., holding spear and leaning on
shield.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 358, No. 152.) *Plate III*

108. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head r.,
laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Roma seated l. on
cuirass and shield, holding branch
and scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 360, No. 165.)

- 109, 110. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Seven stars above
crescent.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 362, No. 202. Pl.
XIII, 251 (*rev.*) has inscription in
ex.) *Plate III*

134-138

111. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Head
r., laur.

Rev. ADVENTVS AVG. Roma standing
r., holding spear and clasping hands
with Hadrian standing l.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 366, No. 225. Pl.
XIII, 264.)

•

28 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

112. Same inscription. Head r., bare.
Rev. FELICITAS AVG. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 367, No. 233.) *Plate III*
113. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and branch.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 367, No. 234.)
114. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and clasping hands with Hadrian standing r.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 368, No. 237.)
- 115–117. Same inscription. Head r., bare.
Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. Fides standing r., holding corn ears and basket of fruit.
R.I.C., II, p. 368, No. 241 A.)
118. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. MONETA AVG. Moneta standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 369, No. 256.)
119. Same.
Rev. SALVS AVG. Salus standing r., feeding snake coiled round altar.
(*R.I.C.* II, p. 371, No. 267.)

120. Same inscription. Head r., bare.
Rev. SPES PR. Spes advancing l., holding
flower and raising skirt.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 371, No. 274.)
121. Same.
Rev. VENERIS FELICIS. Venus seated
l., holding Cupid and leaning on
reversed spear.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 372, No. 280. Pl. XIV,
281.)
122. Same.
Rev. VOTA PVBLICA. Hadrian, veiled,
standing l., sacrificing out of patera
over tripod.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 373, No. 290.)
123. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP. Head
r., laur.
Rev. COS III. Abundantia seated l., hold-
ing hook and cornucopiae; in front,
modius and corn ears.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 379, No. 338.)
124. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Pudicitia, veiled,
seated l.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 380, No. 343.)
- 125, 126. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Victory seated l.,
holding wreath and palm.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 380, No. 345.)

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SABINA

DENARII

ROME 134-138

127. SABINA AVGVSTA. Bust r., diademed, hair in queue.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVG. Concordia standing l., leaning on column holding patera and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 386, No. 390.) *Plate III*

128. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Concordia seated l., holding patera and scepter.

(*R. I. C.*, II, p. 386, No. 391.)

- 129, 130. Same.

Rev. IVNONI REGINAE. Juno standing l., holding patera and scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 386, No. 395.)

131. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. Same type.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVG. Concordia seated l., holding patera and leaning l. elbow on figure of Spes; under chair, cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, p. 387, No. 398.)

ANTONINVS PIUS

DENARII

ROME 139

132. IMP T AEL CAES HADR ANTONINVS.

Head r., bare.

Rev. AVG PIVS PM TRP COS II.

Clasped hands holding winged caduceus.

(R.I.C., III, p. 29, No. 27.)

133. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Head r., bare.

Rev. TRP COS II. Pax standing l., holding branch and cornucopiae.(R.I.C., III, p. 30; No. 42. Pl. I, 7
(*rev.*) but there TR POT.)

140-143

134. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP COS III. Head r., laur.

Rev. ANNONA AVG. Modius with ears and poppies.

(R.I.C., III, p. 33, No. 62.)

135. Same.

Rev. CLEMENTIA AVG. Clementia standing l., holding patera and scepter.

(R.I.C., III, p. 33, No. 64.)

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136. Same.

Rev. ITALIA. Italia, turreted, seated l.
on globe holding cornucopiae and
scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 34, No. 73.)

137. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Head r.,
laur.

Rev. TR POT COS III. Clementia seated
l., holding patera and scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 36, No. 84.)

138. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP COS III.
Head r., laur.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG. Virtus standing l.,
holding spear reversed and para-
zonium.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 38, No. 102d.)

143–144(?)

139. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP COS
III. Head r., laur.

Rev. IMPERATOR II. Victory l., hold-
ing wreath and palm.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 39, No. III b.)

149–150

140. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XII.
Head. r., laur.

Rev. COS IIII. Aequitas standing l., hold-
ing scales and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 48, No. 177. Pl. II,
33.)

150-151

141. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XIII.

Head r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Genius standing
l., holding patera and ears of corn.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 50, No. 196.)

142. IMP CAES T AEL HADR ANTONINVS
AVG PIVS PP. Head r., laur.

Rev. TR POT XIII COS III. Pietas
standing r., holding hind by the
neck and plate of fruits; beside her
to r., altar. PIETAS (in ex.).
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 50, No. 201.) *Plate III*

152-153

- 143, 144. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP
XVI. Head r., laur.

Rev. COS III. Fortuna standing r. with
rudder on globe and cornucopiae.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 53, No. 222.) *Plate III*

155, 156

145. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP IMP II.
Head r., laur.

Rev. TR POT XIX COS III. Annona
seated r., holding cornucopiae in

34 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

both hands; at feet modius. Barbarous.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 56, No. 250. Pl. II,
43 (*rev.*).) *Plate III*

156, 157

146. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP IMP II.

Head r., laur.

Rev. TR POT XX COS IIII. Annona
standing r., l. foot on prow, holding
rudder and modius.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 57, No. 260.)

147. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Salus seated l.,
feeding snake coiled round altar.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 57, No. 264.)

148. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Securitas seated
l., holding scepter, elbow resting on
arm of chair.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 58, No. 265.) *Plate IV*

159–160

149. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XXIII.

Head r., laur.

Rev. ROMA COS IIII. Roma seated l.,
holding Victory and spear.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 63, No. 303. Pl. II,
48 (*rev.*).)

After 161.

150, 151. DIVVS ANTONINVS. Head r.,
bare.

Rev. CONSECRATIO. Pyre of four tiers,
decorated with hangings and gar-
lands, surmounted by quadriga.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 247, No. 436. Pl. IX,
185.)

FAUSTINA SENIOR

DENARII

ROME

After 141

152. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust r., draped.

Rev. AETERNITAS. Providentia stand-
ing l., holding globe and scepter.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 70, No. 350 a. Pl.
III, 55 with bust veiled.)

153–155. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Faustina standing
l., veil blown out behind head,
holding globe.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 70, No. 351.) *Plate IV*

156, 157. Same.

Rev. AVGVSTA. Ceres, veiled, standing
l., holding torch and scepter.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 70, No. 356. Pl. III,
60 (*rev.*).)

36 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

158, 159. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Ceres, standing l.,
holding corn ears and torch.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 71, No. 360. Pl. III,
59 (*rev.*).)

160. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Ceres, standing l.,
raising r. hand and holding torch.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 71, No. 361.)

161. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Ceres standing l.
holding torch and holding up fold
of skirt.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 71, No. 362.)

162. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Juno veiled, seated
r., holding scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 71, No. 363.)

163. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Venus standing l.,
holding apple and resting l. hand on
shield.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 71, No. 366.) *Plate IV*

164. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Pietas standing l.
by altar, raising r. hand, l. hand at
side.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 72, No. 374.) *Plate IV*

165. Same.

Rev. CERES. Ceres, veiled, standing l.,
holding corn ears and torch.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 72, No. 378.)

166, 167. Same.

Rev. CONSECRATIO. Ceres standing l.,
veiled, raising r. hand and holding
torch.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 73, No. 382 b.)

168. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Peacock walking
r., head l.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 73, No. 384. Pl. III,
64 (*rev.*).)

169, 170. DIVA AVG FAVSTINA. Bust r.,
draped.

Rev. PIETAS AVG. Pietas, veiled, stand-
ing l., dropping incense on altar
and holding box.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 74, No. 394 a.)

MARCUS AURELIUS

DENARII

ROME 145-147

171, 172. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII F.
Head r., bare, unbearded.

Rev. COS II. Honos standing l., holding
branch and cornucopiae.

38 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 80, No. 429 a. Pl.
IV, 77 (*rev.*).) *Plate IV*

156, 157

173. AVRELIVS CAES ANTON AVG PII F.
Head r., bare, bearded.
Rev. TR POT XI COS II. Securitas stand-
ing l., leaning on column, raising r.
hand and holding scepter.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 88, No. 472.) *Plate IV*

157, 158

174. Same.
Rev. TR POT XII COS II. Felicitas stand-
ing l., leaning on column and hold-
ing caduceus and scepter.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 89, No. 475 a.)

162-163

175. IMP M ANTONINVS AVG. Head r.,
bare.
Rev. CONCORD AVG TR P XVII. Con-
cordia seated l., holding patera;
cornucopiae under seat of chair;
COS III (*in ex.*).
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 218, No. 59.)

165-166

176. M ANTONINVS AVG ARMENIACVS.

Head r., laur.

Rev. PAX AVG TRP XX COS III. Pax
standing l., holding branch and
cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 224, No. 146.)

169-170

177. M ANTONINVS AVG TRP XXIII.

Head r., laur.

Rev. FELICITAS AVG COS III. Felici-
tas standing l., holding caduceus
and scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 230, No. 218.)

Plate IV

FAUSTINA JUNIOR

DENARII

ROME

After 145

178-180. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust r.
draped.

Rev. AVGVSTI PII FIL. Venus standing
l., holding Victory and resting l.
hand on shield, set on helmet.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 93, No. 495 a. Pl. IV,
90 (*rev.*).)

40 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

181. FAVSTINA AVG ANTONINI AVG PII
FIL. Bust r., draped.

Rev. CONCORDIA. Concordia standing
front, head r., holding cornucopiae
and raising skirt with r.

(Cf. *R.I.C.*, p. 93, No. 500 b, where
the *obv.* reads FAVSTINAE.)

Plate V

182, 183. FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG FIL.
Bust r., draped.

Rev. CONCORDIA. Concordia seated l.,
holding flower, resting elbow on
cornucopiae which is by her chair;
under chair, globe.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 93, No. 502 a.)

184. FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG FIL. Bust
r., with stephane.

Rev. LAETITIAE PVBLICAE. Laetitia
standing l., holding wreath and
scepter.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 94, No. 506 c. Pl.
IV, 95.)

Plate V

185. Same inscription. Bust r., draped.

Rev. PVDICITIA. Pudicitia standing l.,
half drawing veil over face and
raising skirt.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 94, No. 507 a. Pl.
IV, 96 (*rev.*).)

After 161

- 186, 187. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.

Rev. FECVNDITAS. Fecunditas standing r., holding scepter and infant.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 269, No. 677. Pl. XI, 218. The bust there is diademed, though not so described.)

161-176

188. Same inscription. Bust r., diademed.

Rev. SAECVLI FELICIT. Pulvinar on which are Commodus and Antoninus.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 271, No. 712.) *Plate V*

176-180

189. DIVA AVG FAVSTINA. Bust r., veiled.

Rev. CONSECRATIO. Funeral pyre surmounted by biga.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 273, No. 747.) *Plate V*

LUCIUS VERUS

DENARIUS

ROME 162, 163

190. IMP L VERVS AVG. Head r., bare.

Rev. PROV DEOR TRP III COS II. Providentia standing l., holding globe and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 253, No. 491.) *Plate V*

42 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

LUCILLA

DENarii

ROME 164-180

191. LVCILLA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. PVDICITIA. Pudicitia seated l.,
veiled, r. hand on breast.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 276, No. 780.)
192. LVCILLAE AVG ANTONINI AVG F.
Bust r., draped.
Rev. VESTA. Vesta, veiled, standing l.
by altar decorated and lighted,
holding simpulum and palladium.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 276, No. 788.) *Plate V*

COMMODVS

DENarii

ROME 179

193. L AVREL COMMODVS AVG. Bust r.,
laur., draped, in cuirass, unbearded.
Rev. TRP IIII IMP II COS PP. Salus
seated, holding branch, her l. arm
resting on chair; at her feet, snake.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 267, No. 657.) *Plate V*

190

194. M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT PP.
Head r., laur., bearded.

Rev. LIB AVG PM TRP XV COS VI.
Libertas standing l., holding pileus
and rod.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 389, No. 208.)

Plate VI

192

195. L AEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL.
Head r., laur.

Rev. PM TRP XVII IMP VIII COS VI
PP. Victory advancing l., holding
wreath and palm; star in field, l.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 393, No. 237.)

After 193

196. M COMM ANTON AVG PIVS BRIT.
Head r., laur.

Rev. CONSECRATIO. Eagle on globe l.,
head r.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 397, No. 263 b.)

Plate VI

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

TETRADRACHM

ANTIOCH 202

197. ATT KAI CEOTIPOC CE B. Head r.,
laur.

Rev. ΔΙΙΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΗΑΤΟΓ. Eagle on leg
and thigh of animal, head r., wreath
in beak.

(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 193, No.
351. Pl. XXIII, 6.) *Plate VI*

44 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

DENARII

ANTIOCH 193

198, 199. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG.

Head r., laur.

Rev. MONETAE AVG. Moneta standing
l., holding scales and cornucopiae.
(Cf. C. 4, p. 37, No. 329.) *Plate VI*

194

200. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COS

II. Head r., laur.

Rev. BONA SPES. Spes walking l., hold-
ing flower and raising skirt.
(C. 4, p. 9, No. 58.) *Plate VI*

201-203. Same.

Rev. BONI EVENTVS. Fides standing
l., holding basket of fruit and two
ears of corn. (No. 203 EVENTVC.)
(C. 4, p. 10, No. 68.) *Plate VI*

204. Same.

Rev. CERER FRVG. Ceres standing l.,
holding torch and two ears of corn.
(C. 4, p. 10, No. 69.) *Plate VI*

205. Same.

Rev. FORT REDVC. Fortuna standing
l., holding rudder and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 21, No. 160, gives this *rev.*
with *obv.* IMP II instead of COS II.)
Plate VI

206. Same.

Rev. FORTVN REDVC. Fortuna standing l., holding long palm and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 22, No. 175, gives this *rev.* with *obv.* COS I.) *Plate VII*

207, 208. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Fortuna seated l., holding branch and cornucopiae.

(No. 208 plated.)

(C. 4, p. 23, No. 177.) *Plate VII*

209. Same.

Rev. LIBERAL AVG. Liberalitas standing l., holding tessera and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 32, No. 283.) *Plate VII*

210. Same.

Rev. LIR(sic) AVG. Liberalitas seated l., holding tessera and cornucopia.

Plate VII

211. Same.

Rev. MINER VICT. Minerva helmeted standing l., leaning on spear, l. hand at her side.

Plate VII

212-214. Same.

Rev. MONET AVG. Moneta standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 37, No. 330.)

46 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

215. Same.

Rev. SAECVLL FELLCIT (Sic). Cres-
cent with seven stars.

(C. 4, p. 66, No. 628, has SAECVLI
FELICIT.) *Plate VII*

216. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG.
Head r., laur.

Rev. VICTOR IVST AVG II COS (Sic).
Victory l., holding wreath and palm.
(C. 4, p. 77, No. 738, has VICT IVST
AVG.) *Plate VII*

195

217. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP V.
Head r., laur.

Rev. APOLLINI AVGVSTO. Apollo with
long hair standing l., holding patera
and lyre.
(C. 4, p. 8, No. 46.) *Plate VII*

218, 219. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG
COS II. Head r., laur.

Rev. TRP III IMP V COS II. Captive
seated r., on ground, arms bound;
before him, shields, bow and quiver.
(C. 4, p. 69, No. 661.) *Plate VII*

196

220. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII.
 Head r., laur.
Rev. PM TRP V COS II PP. Pax seated
 l., holding olive branch and scepter.
 (C. 4, p. 47, No. 444.) *Plate VIII*

198

221. L SEPT SEV AVG IMP XI PART MAX.
 Head r., laur.
Rev. CONCORDIAE MILITVM. Con-
 cordia standing l., holding standard
 in each hand.
 (C. 4, p. 11, No. 78.) *Plate VIII*

ROME

194

222. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP IIII.
 Head r., laur.
Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. Securitas
 seated l., holding a glove.
 (C. 4, p. 67, No. 646.)

198 201

223. SEVERVS AVG PART MAX. Head r.,
 laur.
Rev. RESTITVTOR VRBIS. Emperor
 standing l., sacrificing on lighted
 tripod, holding spear.
 (C. 4, p. 63, No. 599.) *Plate VIII*

48 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

JULIA DOMNA

DENARIUS

ANTIOCH 193-196

224. IVLIA DOMNA AVG. Bust r., draped.
Rev. VENERI VICT. Venus, half nude,
r., holding palm and apple and
leaning with l. elbow on column.
(C. 4, p. 121, No. 193 has VICTR.)
Plate VIII

CARACALLA

DENARIUS

ROME (?) 201

225. Inscription off flan. Head r., laur.,
bearded.
Rev. P]M TRP IIII C[OS —. Fortuna
standing l., holding rudder on globe
and cornucopiae. *Plate VIII*

DIADUMENIANUS

TETRADRACHM

TYRE 218

226. ΜΟΠΑΝΤΩΝΙ. Bust r., bare, draped.
Rev. ΔΗ[Μ]ΑΡΧΕ[ΞΟΤC]ΙΑC. Eagle, head
r., between legs, murex shell; be-
neath, club. *Plate VIII*

HOARD IV

VITELLIUS

DENARIUS

ROME 69

1. A VITELLIVS GERM IMP AVG TRP.

Head r., laur.

Rev. CONCORDIA PR. Concordia seated
l., holding patera and cornucopiae.
(*B.M.C.*, I, p. 371, No. 20. Pl. 60.27
(*obv.*), Pl. 60, 18, 19 (*rev.* type).)

VESPASIAN

DENARIUS

ROME 60–70

2. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.

Head r., laur.

Rev. COS ITER FORT RED. Fortuna
standing l., holding prow and cor-
nucopiae.
(*B.M.C.*, II, p. 2, Nos. 8, 9. Pl. 1.3.)

TRAJAN

TRIDRACHIUM

CAESAREA 100

3. ATTOKP KAIC NEP TPAIANOC CEB
ΓΕΡΜ. Bust r., laur., drapery at neck.

50 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΑΤΤ. Roma seated l.,
on cuirass and arms, holding Victory,
and parazonium [9.41 gm.].
(Sydenham, *Numismatic Circular*, Oct.
1930, col. 426, No. 180.) *Plate IX*

DENARIUS

ROME 103-111

4. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM
TRP COS V PP. Bust r., laur., drapery
on l. shoulder.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Tro-
phy.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 259, No. 226.)

HADRIAN

DENARIUS

ROME 119-122

5. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS
AVG. Bust r., laur., drapery on l.
shoulder.
Rev. PM TRP COS III. Aeternitas stand-
ing l., holding heads of sun and moon.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 350, No. 81.) *Plate IX*

DURA HOARDS

51

LUCIUS AELIUS

DENARIUS

ROME 137

6. L AELIVS CAESAR. Head r., bare.
Rev. TR POT COS II. Felicitas standing
l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 392, No. 430.) *Plate IX*

SABINA

DENARIUS

ROME 134-138

7. SABINA AVGVSTA. Bust r., hair in
queue.
Rev. VENERI GENETRICI. Venus stand-
ing r., drawing up robe over shoulder
and holding apple.
(*R.I.C.*, II, p. 387, No. 396. Pl. XIV,
287 (*rev.*.) *Plate IX*

ANTONINUS PIUS

DENARII

ROME 138

8. IMP T AEL CAES HADRI ANTONINVS.
Head r., bare.
Rev. AVG PIVS PM TRP COS DES II.
Aequitas standing l., holding scales
and cornucopiae.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 26, No. 10.)

52 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

140-143

9. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP COS III.

Head r., laur.

Rev. AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and rod.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 33, No. 61.)

145-161

10. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Head r., laur.

Rev. COS IIII. Clasped hands holding caduceus and corn ears.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 43, No. 136.) *Plate IX*

149, 150

11. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XII.

Head r., laur.

Rev. COS IIII. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 48, No. 77.) *Plate IX*

150, 151

12. IMP CAES T AEL HADR ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Head r., laur.

Rev. TR POT XIII COS IIII. Tranquillitas standing r., holding rudder and corn ears, TRANQ (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 51, No. 202.) *Plate IX*

153, 154

13. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XVII.

Head r., laur.

Rev. COS IIII. Annona standing l., holding corn ears and setting l. hand on modius set on ship.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 54, No. 231. Pl. II, 42.)

155, 156

14. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XIX.

Head r., laur.

Rev. TR POT XIX COS IIII. Fortuna standing r., holding rudder on globe and cornucopiae.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 56, No. 251.)

159, 160

15, 16. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XXII. Head r., laur.

Rev. VOTA SVSCEPTA DEC III. Antoninus standing l., sacrificing from patera over tripod. COS IIII (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 62, No. 294.) *Plate X*

After 161

17. DIVVS ANTONINVS. Head r., bare.

Rev. CONSECRATIO. Eagle standing r., head l.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 247, No. 429. Pl. IX, 186 (*rev.*).) *Plate X*

54 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

FAUSTINA SENIOR

DENARIUS

ROME After 141

18. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. CERES. Ceres standing l., veiled,
holding corn ears and torch.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 72, No. 378.)

MARCUS AURELIUS

TETRADRACHM

ANTIOCH 177

19. ΑΤΤΟΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ. Bust r.,
laur., in cuirass.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧ[ΕΞ]ΤΟ ΑΑΤΗΑΤΟ. Eagle,
head l., on leg and thigh of animal.
[12.05 gm.].
(Cf. *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 192, No.
343.) Mistakenly read as AI instead
of ΑΓ. Cf. Pl. XXIII, 5, and *R.N.*,
32 (1929), p. 24. *Plate X*

DENARII

ROME 169, 170

20. M ANTONINVS AVG TRP XXIIII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. COS III. Minerva standing r., hurling
javelin and holding shield.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 229, No. 211.)

172, 173

21. M ANTONINVS AVG TRP XXVII.
 Head r., laur.
Rev. IMP VI COS III. Aequitas standing
 l., holding scales and cornucopiae.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 234, No. 271.)

177, 178

22. M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG. Head
 r., laur.
Rev. TRP XXXII IMP VIIII COS III PP.
 Mars standing r., holding spear, l.
 hand on shield.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 243, No. 284.)
23. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Annona standing l.,
 holding two corn ears and cornu-
 copiae; on l. modius, on r. ship.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 243, No. 390 has
 modius r. ship l.) *Plate X*

After 180

24. DIVVS M ANTONINVS PIVS. Head r.,
 bare.
Rev. CONSECRATIO. Eagle standing r.
 on bar.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 398, No. 265.) *Plate X*

56 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

FAUSTINA JUNIOR

DENARII

ROME After 145

25. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. AVGVSTI PII FIL. Venus standing
l., holding Victory and resting l.
hand on shield set on helmet.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 93, No. 495. Pl. IV,
90 (*rev.*).)

After 161

26. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. VESTA. Vesta, veiled, seated l., hold-
ing palladium and scepter.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 272, No. 737.) *Plate X*

LUCILLA

DENARIUS

ROME 164–180

27. LVCILLA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. PVDICITIA. Pudicitia seated l.,
veiled, r. hand on breast.
(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 276, No. 781.) *Plate XI*

COMMODUS

DENARII

ROME

179

28. L AVREL COMMODVS AVG. Head r.,
laur., unbearded.

Rev. TRP IIII IMP III COS II PP. Vic-
tory seated l., holding patera and
palm.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 268, No. 666.) *Plate XI*

183, 4

29. M COMMODVS ANTON AVG PIVS.
Head r., laur., bearded.

Rev. TRP VIIII IMP VI COS IIII PP.
Minerva advancing r., brandishing
javelin and holding shield; at feet,
owl.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 374, No. 82.) *Plate XI*

186

30. M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT.
Head r., laur.

Rev. PM TRP XI IMP VII COS V PP.
Fortuna seated l., holding rudder on
globe and cornucopiae; wheel under
seat. FOR RED (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 380, No. 131.)

58 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

186-189

31. Same.

Rev. OPTIME MAXIME. Jupiter standing l., holding thunderbolt and scepter. CVPP (in ex.).

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 387, No. 192. Pl. XIV, 292 (*rev.*).)

190

32. M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT PP.
Head r., laur.

Rev. LIB AVG PM TRP XV COS VI.
Libertas standing l., holding pileus and rod.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 389, No. 208.)

190, 1

33. Same.

Rev. ROM FEL PM TRP XVI COS VI.
Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 391, No. 224.)

191

34. L AEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL.
Head r., laur.

Rev. PM TRP XVII IMP VIII COS VI
PP. Fides standing l., holding scepter and cornucopiae; star in field, r.

(*R.I.C.*, III, p. 392, No. 234.)

192

35. Same.

Rev. PM TRP XVII IMP VIII COS VII
 PP. Pietas seated l., extending
 hand to child and holding transverse
 scepter; star in field, l.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 393, No. 236. Pl. XV,
 307 (*rev.*.)

191, 2

36. Same inscription. Head r., in lion's skin.

Rev. HERCVL ROMAN AVGV. Club in
 wreath.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 395, No. 251.) *Plate XI*

37. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. SERAPIDI CONSERV AVG. Sera-
 pis, radiate, standing front, head l.,
 holding branch and scepter.
 (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 397, No. 261. Pl. XV,
 312 (*rev.*.)

PESCENNIUS NIGER

DENARIUS

ANTIOCH 193

38. IMP C PESC NIGER IVS AVG COS II.

Head r., laur.

Rev. MONETAE AVG. Moneta standing
 l., with modius on her head, holding
 scales and cornucopiae.

60 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

(C. 3, p. 411, No. 55 has this *obv.*, No.
56 has this *rev.*) *Plate XI*

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

TETRADRACHMS

ANTIOCH 202

39, 40. ΑΤΤ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΟΤΗΡΟC ΚΕ. Bust r.,
laur., wearing paludamentum.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΚΕ ΠΑΤΟC ΤΟΓ. Eagle,
head l., between legs, star. [11.97,
11.43 gm.]

(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 193, No. 347.
Pl. XXIII, 9 (*obv.*.) *Plate XI*

41, 42. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same. [12.25, 11.15 gm.]

(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 193, No. 349.)
Plate XII

DENARII

ANTIOCH 193

43. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COS I.
Head r., laur.

Rev. FORTVN REDVC. Fortuna stand-
ing l., wearing modius and holding
rudder and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 22, No. 174.)

44, 45. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Fortuna standing l., wearing modius and holding palm and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 22, No. 175.)

46. Same.

Rev. VIRT AVG TRP COS. Roma standing l., holding Victory and reversed spear.

(C. 4, p. 78, No. 752 has *obv.* without COS I.) *Plate XI*

47. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP I. Head r., laur.

Rev. INVICTO IMP. Trophy at foot of which spear and helmet to l., two spears and two shields to r.

(C. 4, p. 28, No. 230 has this *obv.*, No. 232 has this *rev.*)

194

48. IMP CAE L SEPT SEV PERT AVG COS II. Head r., laur.

Rev. BONAE SPEI. Spes l., holding flower and raising skirt.

(C. 4, p. 9, No. 61.) *Plate XII*

49. Same.

Rev. CERER FRVG. Ceres standing l., wearing modius, holding two ears of wheat and torch.

(C. 4, p. 10, No. 69.) *Plate XII*

62 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

50. Same.

Rev. FORTVNA REDVC. Fortuna standing l. before lighted altar holding patera and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 24, No. 185.)

51. Same.

Rev. FORTVN REDVC. Fortuna standing l., wearing modius and holding rudder and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 22, No. 174, has this *rev.*, No. 177 has this *obv.*) *Plate XII*

52, 53. Same.

Rev. INVICTO IMP. Trophy at foot of which spear and helmet to l., two spears and two shields to r.
(C. 4, p. 28, No. 232.)

54.¹ Same.

Rev. LEG XIII GEM M V. Legionary eagle, with collar around the neck, between two standards. TRP COS (in ex.). Broken.
(C. 4, p. 32, No. 274.)

55. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COS II.

Rev. MARTI VICTOR. Mars nude walking r., carrying spear and trophy.
(C. 4, p. 37, No. 324, has on *obv.* CA for CAE; PER for PERT and on

¹ This may be Rome.

rev. MART for MARTI (only the
bottom of the I is here preserved.)

Plate XII

56-58. Same.

Rev. MONET AVG. Moneta standing l.,
holding scales and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 37, No. 330.) *Plate XII*

59. Same.

Rev. MONETA II AVG. Moneta wear-
ing modius seated l., holding scales
and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 39, No. 346.) *Plate XIII*

60. Same.

Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Severus
on horseback l.

(C. 4, p. 68, No. 652.) *Plate XIII*

61. Same.

Rev. SAECVLI FELICIT. Crescent and
seven stars.

(C. 4, p. 66, No. 628.) *Plate XIII*

62. Same.

Rev. VICT AVG. Victory l., holding
wreath and palm.

(C. 4, p. 70, No. 675 has on *obv.* VC
(sic) for AVG.)

63. Same.

Rev. VIRT AVG TRP II COS II PP.
Roma standing l., holding Victory
and reversed spear.

64 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

(C. 4, p. 78, No. 755 has this *rev.* with
obv. IMP III.)

64. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP IIII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. PM TRP II COS II PP. Pallas
standing l., holding shield and trans-
verse spear.
(C. 4, p. 42, No. 381.)

194, 195

65. IMP CAEL SEPT SEV PERT AVG.
Head r., laur.
Rev. APOLLINI AVGVSTO. Apollo l.,
holding patera and lyre.
(C. 4, p. 47, No. 43.) *Plate XIII*

195

66. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. ARAB ADIAB COS II PP. Victory
l., with wreath and palm.
(C. 4, p. 8, No. 50.)

196

67. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. VICTOR AVG. Victory walking l.,
holding branch.
(C. 4, p. 73, No. 699 has Victory hold-
ing wreath and palm.) *Plate XIII*

198

68. L SEPT SEV AVG IMP XI PART MAX.
Head r., laur.
Rev. MONETA AVG. Moneta seated l.,
holding scales and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 39, No. 345.) *Plate XIII*
69. Same.
Rev. AEQVITATI AVGG. Aequitas
standing l., holding scales and cornu-
copiae.
(C. 4, p. 6, No. 21.)
70. Same.
Rev. COS II PP. Victory l., holding wreath
and palm.
(C. 4, p. 13, No. 100 has COS III.)
Plate XIII
71. Same.
Rev. VICT PARTHICAE. Victory l.,
holding wreath and trophy, at her
feet, Parthian seated.
(C. 4, p. 77, No. 741.) *Plate XIII*
72. Same.
Rev. VICTORIAE AVGG FEL. Victory
flying l., with diadem on both sides;
before her, shield on column lying on
its side.
(C. 4, p. 75, No. 719.) *Plate XIII*

66 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

73. L SEP SEVERVS PER AVG PM IMP
XI. Head r., laur.
Rev. VICT AVGG COS II PP. Victory
l., with wreath and palm.
(C. 4, p. 72, No. 695.)

ROME 194

74. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP II. Head
r., laur.
Rev. MART VICTOR. Mars walking r.,
holding spear and trophy.
(C. 4, p. 37, No. 323.)
75. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP III. Head
r., laur.
Rev. LIBERO PATRI. Bacchus nude
standing l., panther skin behind him,
holding jug and thyrsus; at his feet,
panther.
(C. 4, p. 34, No. 301.) *Plate XIV*

196

76. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. ADVENTVI AVG FELICISSIMO.
Severus on horseback r., raising r.
hand.
(C. 4, p. 4, No. 6.) *Plate XIV*

77. Same.
Rev. INDVLGENTIA AVG. Indulgentia
seated l., with patera and scepter.
(C. 4, p. 26, No. 216.)
78. Same.
Rev. MVNIFICENTIA AVG. Elephant r.
(C. 4, p. 39, No. 348.)
- 79, 80. Same.
Rev. PM TRP IIII COS II PP. Pax
seated l., holding olive branch and
scepter.
(C. 4, p. 46, No. 429.)
- 81, 82. Same.
Rev. VOTA PVBLICA. Severus veiled
standing l., sacrificing over burning
altar.
(C. 4, p. 80, No. 777.)

197

- 83-85. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII.
Head r., laur.
Rev. PM TRP V COS II PP. Fortuna
standing l., holding rudder on globe
and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 47, No. 442.)
86. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Genius standing l.
by lighted altar, sacrificing with l.

68 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

hand from patera and holding corn
ears.

(C. 4, p. 46, No. 437.)

87. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Sol, radiate, standing l., raising r. hand and holding whip.

(C. 4, p. 46, No. 433.) *Plate XIV*

88. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP X. Head
r., laur.

Rev. LIBERO PATRI. Bacchus nude l., crowning himself and holding thyrsus; at his feet, panther.

(C. 4, p. 35, No. 305.) *Plate XIV*

89. Same.

Rev. MARTI PACIFERO. Mars standing l., foot on cuirass, holding olive branch and reversed spear.

(C. 4, p. 36, No. 315.)

90-94. Same.

Rev. PACI AETERNAE. Pax seated l., holding olive branch and scepter.

(C. 4, p. 40, No. 357.)

95. Same.

Rev. SALVTI AVGG. Salus seated l., feeding from patera snake around altar.

(C. 4, p. 67, No. 641.)

96. Same.
Rev. Same, but back of throne is formed by
 two cornucopiae. *Plate XIV*
97. Same.
Rev. VICT AVGG COS II PP. Victory
 l., with wreath and palm.
 (C. 4, p. 72, No. 694.) *Plate XIV*

198–201

98. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Head r., laur.
Rev. FVNDATOR PACIS. Severus veiled
 standing l., holding olive branch and
 book.
 (C. 4, p. 25, No. 205.) *Plate XIV*
99. SEVERVS AVG PART MAX. Head r.,
 laur.
Rev. Same.
 (C. 4, p. 25, No. 203.) *Plate XIV*
100. Same.
Rev. VIRT AVGG. Roma, helmeted,
 standing l., holding Victory and
 leaning on shield and spear.
 (C. 4, p. 79, No. 761.)

200

- 101, 102. Same.
Rev. PM TRP VIII COS II PP. Victory
 flying l. with diadem in both hands;

70 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

before her, shield on column lying
on its side.
(C. 4, p. 48, No. 457.) *Plate XV*

201

103. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Head r., laur.
Rev. VICTORIAE AVGG. Victory in a
biga galloping r.
(C. 4, p. 74, No. 713.) *Plate XV*

104. Same.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG. Liberalitas
standing l., holding tessera and
cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 33, No. 292.)

210

105. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Head r., laur.
Rev. PMTRPXVIII COS III PP. Between
the infants Caracalla and Geta,
Jupiter standing l., his mantle be-
hind him, holding thunderbolt and
scepter.
(C. 4, p. 57, No. 539.) *Plate XV*

211

106. SEVERVS PIVS AVG BRIT. Head r.,
laur.
Rev. PM TRP XIX COS III PP. Same
type.

(C. gives this type only for 209, 210
and 211.) *Plate XV*

Uncertain date

107. L SEP SEV PERT A[VG. Head r., laur.
Rev. LIBER —. Liberalitas standing l.
with tessera and cornucopiae.
108. IMP CAE L SEP SE PER. Head r., laur.
Rev. MONETA. Moneta standing l.,
holding scales and cornucopiae.

JULIA DOMNA

ANTIOCH 193–196

109. IVLIA DOMNA AVG. Bust r., draped
Rev. LIBERAL AVG. Liberalitas stand-
ing l., holding tessera and cornu-
copia.
(C. 4, p. 114, No. 103.)
110. Same.
Rev. VENER VICTOR. Venus standing
l., r. hand raised, holding scepter
with l. *Plate XV*

196

111. Same.
Rev. VENERI VICTR. Venus, half
nude, r., holding palm and apple
and leaning with l. elbow on column.
(C. 4, p. 121, No. 194.) *Plate XV*

72 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

ROME 196

112. Same.
Rev. Same.
(Perhaps Antioch.) *Plate XV*

196-211

113. IVLIA AVGVSTA. Bust r., draped.
Rev. CERERI FRVGIF. Ceres seated l.,
holding corn ears and torch.
(C. 4, p. 107, No. 14.) *Plate XV*
114. Same.
Rev. DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana stand-
ing l., crescent behind neck, holding
torch in both hands.
(C. 4, p. 108, No. 27.)
115. Same.
Rev. HILARITAS. Hilaritas standing l.,
holding long palm and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 112, No. 72.)
116. Same.
Rev. IVNO. Juno standing l., holding
long palm and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 113, No. 82.) Perhaps
Antioch. *Plate XV*
117. Same.
Rev. IVNO REGINA. Juno standing l.,
veiled, holding patera and scepter:
at her feet, peacock.
(C. 4, p. 113, No. 97.)

118, 119. Same.

Rev. MATER DEVM. Cybele, turreted,
seated l. between two lions, holding
branch and scepter, her l. elbow
resting on tympanum.

(C. 4, p. 115, No. 123.) *Plate XVI*

120. Same.

Rev. PIETAS PVBLICA. Pietas, veiled,
standing l. before flaming altar,
raising both hands.

(C. 4, p. 118, No. 156.)

121. Same.

Rev. PVDICITIA. Pudicitia seated l., r.
hand on her breast.

(C. 4, p. 119, No. 168.) Perhaps
Antioch. *Plate XVI*

122. Same.

Rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS. Isis stand-
ing r., her foot on prow, nourishing
Horus; behind her an altar with a
rudder against it.

(C. 4, p. 119, No. 174.)

123. Same.

Rev. VENERI GENETRICI. Venus
standing l., with patera and scepter.

(C. 4, p. 121, No. 185.) *Plate XVI*

74 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

124–126. Same.

Rev. VENVS FELIX. Venus standing
half l. holding apple and drawing
robe from shoulder.

(C. 4, p. 122, No. 198.) *Plate XVI*

127. Same.

Rev. VESTAE SANCTAE. Vesta stand-
ing l., holding patera and scepter.

(C. 4, p. 126, No. 246.) *Plate XVI*

198–217

128. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. Bust r.,
draped.

Rev. DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana stand-
ing l., holding torch in both hands.

(C. 4, p. 108, No. 32.)

211, 212

129. Same.

Rev. MAT AVGG MAT SEN M PATR.
Julia seated l., holding corn ears
and scepter. Broken.

(C. 4, p. 114, No. 111.) *Plate XVI*

CARACALLA

TETRADRACHMS

ANTIOCH 208

130–133. ΑΤΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CЄ B.

Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΑΤΟC ΤΟ Γ. Eagle
on leg and thigh of animal; head r.
[13.68, 12.9, 10.42, 10.37 gm.]
(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 194, No.
359 has ΤΗΑΤΟ Γ.) *Plate XVI*

134–137. ΑΤΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CЄ. Bust
r., laur., wearing paludamentum.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
between legs, star. [12.82, 10.85,
10.77, 10.37 gm.]
(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 194, No. 360
has ΤΗΑΤΟC Γ.) *Plate XVI*

138. ΑΤΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CЄ Β. Head
r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.; to
l. and r., stars. [10.98 gm.]
Plate XVII

213

139. ΑΤΤ ΚΜΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CЄΒ. Head
r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΑΤΟ Δ. Eagle, head
r. on leg and thigh of animal.
[7.85 gm. badly corroded.]
(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 195, No. 361
has Eagle, head l.)

140. Same.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΑΤΟC ΤΟ Δ. Eagle,
head l., between legs, star. [8.65
gm.]

76 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 195, No. 364.) *Plate XVII*

141, 142. Same.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΙΑ ΤΟ Δ. Eagle on thunderbolt, head r. [10.42, 7.5 gm. both badly corroded.]

BEROEA 213

143. ΑΥΤΗ ΜΑΤ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CEB. Bust r., laur., in cuirass and paludamentum.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΙΑΤΟC ΤΟ Δ. Eagle, head l.; between legs BE and fantastic bird. [7.25 gm.] *Plate XVII*

TYRE 208

144. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CEB. Head r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΙΑΤΟC ΤΟ Γ. Eagle on club (handle to l.) head l.; between legs, murex shell. [11.6 gm.]
(*B.M.C.*, Phoenicia, p. 304, No. 36, Pl. XXXVII, 3.) *Plate XVII*

UNCERTAIN MINT 213

145. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC CEB. Head r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΗΙΑΤΟC ΤΟ Δ. Eagle, head l., on torch entwined by serpent. [8.07 gm. badly corroded.]

(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 197, No. 378. Cf. *Dura Hoard I*, Nos. 17, 18.)

DENarii

ANTIOCH 197

146. M AVR ANTON CAES PONTIF. Young bust r., bare, draped.
Rev. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Pallas standing l., leaning on shield and holding reversed spear.
 (C. 4, p. 202, No. 566.) *Plate XVII*

198

147. IMP CAE M AVR ANT AVG P TRP. Young bust r., draped, laur.
Rev. SPES PVBLICA. Spes walking l., holding flower and lifting skirt.
 (C. 4, p. 205, No. 599.) *Plate XVIII*

210

148. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT. Head, bearded, r., laur.
Rev. MARTI PROPVGANATORI (Sic). Mars rushing l., holding spear and trophy. *Plate XVII*
149. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Head bearded, r., laur.
Rev. VICTORIAE BRIT. Victory walk-

78 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

ing r., holding trophy in both hands.
 (C. 4, p. 209, No. 629 has *obv.*
 ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT.)
Plate XVIII

ROME 196, 7

150. M AVR ANTONINVS CAES. Young
 bust r., bare, draped.
Rev. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Pallas
 standing l. leaning on shield and
 holding reversed spear.
 (C. 4, p. 202, No. 562.) *Plate XVIII*

197

151. M AVR ANTON CAES PONTIF. Young
 bust r., bare, draped.
Rev. DESTINATO IMPERATORE. Li-
 tuus, cap, bucranium and sprinkler.
 (C. 4, p. 147, No. 53.) *Plate XVIII*
- 152, 153. Same.
Rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS. Felicitas
 standing l., holding caduceus.
 (C. 4, p. 201, No. 557, a defective
 specimen.) *Plate XVIII*
- 154, 155. Same.
Rev. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Pallas
 standing l., leaning on shield and
 holding reversed spear.
 (C. 4, p. 202, No. 566.) *Plate XVIII*

200

156. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS. Young bust
r., draped, laur.
Rev. PONTIF TRP III. Sol (?) standing
l., holding globe and reversed spear.
(C. 4, p. 186, No. 413.) *Plate XVIII*

201

157. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Young bust
r., draped, laur.
Rev. PART MAX PONT TRP IIII.
Trophy between two captives seated
on the ground.
(C. 4, p. 162, No. 175.)

201-204

- 158, 159. Same.
Rev. FELICITAS AVGG. Felicitas stand-
ing l., holding caduceus and cornu-
copiae.
(C. 4, p. 148, No. 64.) No. 158 is
perhaps from Antioch.
Plates XVIII and XIX
160. Same.
Rev. VIRTVS AVGG. Mars standing l.,
holding Victory and reversed spear.
(C. 4, p. 212, No. 667.)

80 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

161. Same.

Rev. INDVLGENTIA AVGG. Goddess of Carthage, holding thunderbolt and scepter seated on lion leaping r., behind, rock from which water issues. IN CARTH (in ex.).

(C. 4, p. 153, No. 97.) *Plate XIX*

203

162. Same.

Rev. IIII LIBERALITAS AVGG. Liberalitas standing l. with tessera and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 156, No. 122.) *Plate XIX*

206

163. Same.

Rev. PONTIF TRP VIIII COS II. Mars standing l., leaning on shield and holding spear.

(C. 4, p. 187, No. 424.)

210

164. Same inscription. Head, bearded, r., laur.

Rev. PONTIF TRP XIII COS III. Concordia seated l. beside altar, holding cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 194, No. 485 has *obv.* ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT.)

Plate XIX

165. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT. Head,
bearded, r., laur.
Rev. MARTI PROPVGNATORI. Mars
rushing l., holding spear and trophy.
(C. 4, p. 160, No. 150.) *Plate XIX*
166. Same.
Rev. MONETA AVG. Moneta standing
l., holding scales and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 161, No. 165.)

212

167. Same.
Rev. PM TRP XV COS III PP. Salus
seated l., holding cornucopiae and
feeding snake around altar.
(C. 4, p. 166, No. 206.) *Plate XIX*
168. Same.
Rev. PM TRP XVI COS IIII PP. Her-
cules, nude, standing l., holding
olive branch and club with lion's
skin.
(C. 4, p. 165, No. 196.) *Plate XIX*

PLAUTILLA

DENARII

ROME

202-212

169. PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE. Bust r.,
draped.
Rev. CONCORDIAE. Concordia seated
l., holding patera and cornucopiae.
(C. 4, p. 247, No. 6.)

82 THE THIRD AND FOURTH

170. Same.

Rev. CONCORDIAE AETERNAE.

Plautilla r., giving her hand to
Caracalla l.

(C. 4, p. 247, No. 10.) *Plate XIX*

GETA

TETRADRACHMS

ANTIOCH 208

171, 172. ATT KAI ΓΕΤΑC CЄ. Bust r.,
laur., in cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧЄΤΠΑΤΟC TΟ B. Eagle,
head l.; between legs, star. [11.2,
11.15 gm.] *Plate XX*

173. ATT KAI ΓΕΤΑC CЄB. Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧЄΤΠΑΤΟC TΟ B. Eagle,
head r., to l. and r. stars. [9.47 gm.]
Plate XX

TYRE 208

174, 175. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle on club
(handle to l.) head r.; between legs,
murex shell. [13.0, 9.08 gm.]

(*B.M.C.*, Phoenicia, p. 305, No. 42
has *obv.* bust r.) *Plate XX*

DENARII

ROME 198-209

176. L SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES. Bust r.,
bare.

Rev. FELICITAS TEMPOR. Felicitas
standing l. with caduceus and cornucopiae.

(C. 4, p. 258, No. 44.) Perhaps
Antioch, C. says "Fabrique orientale."
Plate XX

177. P SEPT GETA CAES PONT. Bust r.,
bare.

Rev. PRINC IVVENTVTIS. Geta l.,
holding branch and spear, behind
him trophy with shield at its base.

(C. 4, p. 270, No. 157.) *Plate XX*

208

178. P SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES. Bust r.,
bare, draped.

Rev. PONTIF COS II. Geta standing l.,
holding globe and parazonium.
Broken.

(C. 4, p. 265, No. 117.)

MACRINUS

TETRADRACHMS

ANTIOCH 218

179. ATT K MOΠCE MAKPINOC CEB. Bust
r., wearing cuirass and paludamentum.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΙΑΤΟ. Eagle on leg
and thigh, head r., in field, to l.
and r. ΔΕ. [10.85 gm.]
(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 199, No. 393
has a variant of the *obv.* inscription.)
Plate XX

ARADUS 218

180. ATT M O CE MAKPINOC CEB. Bust r.,
draped, laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle head r.,
between legs head of humped bull.
[6.25 gm. badly corroded.]
(*Dura, Hoard I*, No. 8.)

MOPSUS 218

181. ATT MOΠ CE MAKPINOC CEB. Bust
r., draped, laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle head l., be-
tween legs, altar. [8.75 gm. badly
corroded.]
(*B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., p. 199, No. 397
has variants of the inscriptions.
Dura, Hoard I, No. 14.)

COMBINED SUMMARY

	DENarii		TETRADRACHMS			Tot.
	Rome	Antioch	Ant.	Other Mints		
Nero.....	1	—	—	—		1
Galba.....	2	—	—	—		2
Vitellius.....	2 (Lugdunum 1)	—	—	—		3
Vespasian.....	26	—	—	—		26
Titus.....	1	—	—	—		1
Domitian.....	6	—	—	—		6
Nerva.....	1	—	—	—		1
Trajan.....	52	—	(Tridrachm, Caesarea 1)			53
Hadrian.....	38	—	—	—		38
L. Aelius.....	1	—	—	—		1
Sabina.....	6	—	—	—		6
Pius.....	30	—	—	—		30
Faustina Sr.	20	—	—	—		20
M. Aurelius....	12	—	1	—		13
Faustina Jr....	14	—	—	—		14
L. Verus.....	1	—	—	—		1
Lucilla.....	3	—	—	—		3
Commodus....	14	—	—	—		14
Niger.....	—	1	—	—		1
Severus.....	37	55	5	—		97
Julia.....	18	4	—	—		22
Caracalla.....	20	4	13	Beroea 1		—
				Tyre 1		—
				Uncertain 1		40
Plautilla.....	2	—	—	—		2
Geta.....	3	—	3	Tyre 2		8
Macrinus.....	—	—	1	Aradus 1		—
				Mopsus 1		3
Diadumenianus	—	—	—	Tyre 1		1
	—	—	—	—		—
	310	65	23	8		407

(including 1
Lugdunum)(plus 1
Tridrachm)



3



4



— 6 —



10



13



— 21 —



31



38



35





3



4



— 6 —



10



13



— 21 —



31



38



35





— 41 —



47



57



63



70



71



81



87



88



— 91 —



DURA H'D III

PL. III



99



106



107



109



112



127



142



143



145





148



153



163



164



171



173



177





181



184



188



190



189



192



193



DURA H'D III

PL. VI



194



197



196



198



200



201



202



204



205

DURA H'D III

PL. VII



206



207



210



211



209



219



216



215



217

DURA H'D III

PL. VIII



220



221



223



224



— 225 —



226



DURA H'D IV

PL. IX



- 3 -



5



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11



12





— 15 —



17



23



19



24



26



DURA H'D IV

PL. XI



27



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— 55 —



— 56 —





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— 75 —



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98



DURA H'D IV

PL. XV



103



101



103



105



106



105



110



111



112



113



-116-





118



123



121



124



127



132



129



132



-135-





— 138 —



140



143



143



144



146



148



DURA H'D IV

PL. XVIII



149



147



151



152



150



154



156



— 158 —





— 159 —



161



162



165



164



168



167



170





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176



177



176



179



179



— 75 —



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-116-





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-135-





— 138 —



140



143



143



144



146



148



DURA H'D IV

PL. XVIII



149



147



151



150



152



154



156



— 158 —



17. 17. 17.

17. 17.





172



173



174



175



176



177



176



179



179

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